

BEHIND THE SCENES
WITH
A NEWSPAPER MAN
E. J. STACKPOLE



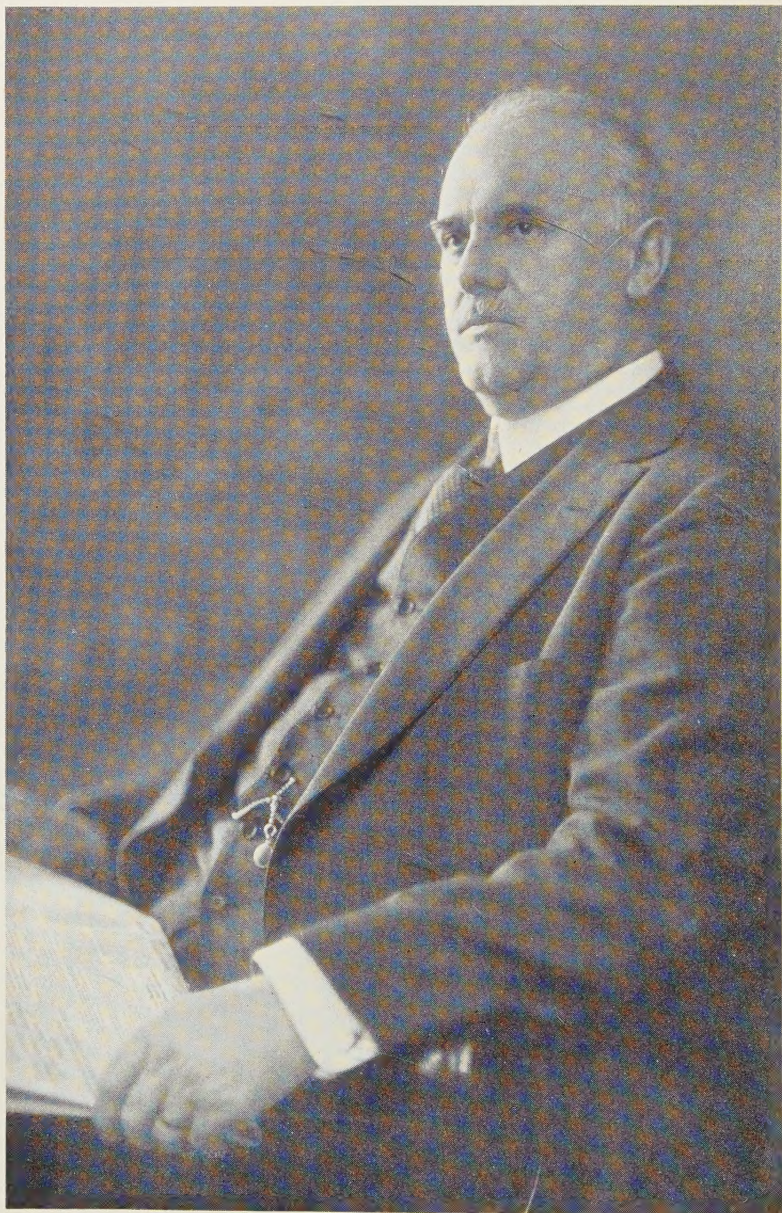
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BEHIND THE SCENES WITH
A NEWSPAPER MAN



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E. J. STACKPOLE

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

FIFTY YEARS
IN THE LIFE OF AN EDITOR

BY
E. J. STACKPOLE

PRESIDENT AND EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE
HARRISBURG TELEGRAPH

WITH 44 ILLUSTRATIONS AND
20 LINE DRAWINGS



PHILADELPHIA & LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

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TO

MY WIFE

FAITHFUL HELPMEET, THE INSPIRATION
OF HER HUSBAND, HER CHILDREN AND
HER GRANDCHILDREN, THIS BOOK IS
AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

PREFACE

Not long before his death, when United States Senator Boies Penrose was in Harrisburg, conferring with political leaders and State officials, it was my privilege to call upon him. During our chat I mentioned incidents of his early experience in the Legislature. Several times I rose to leave, knowing that others were waiting for him. But he was in a reminiscent mood and said:

“Sit down, Stackpole, sit down! You are recalling episodes which I had almost forgotten, and other matters can wait. Yours is a good memory and what you have been telling me is history. What many so-called historians write is not history at all; but what they think should have been history; so they set down as fact what is, too often, pure fiction. You should put your recollections of men and measures, political events and public reactions into permanent form that others who follow may know what manner of men we were.”

From this conversation dates the purpose to write and publish these recollections of fifty years—from 1876 to 1926—during which, as a newspaper man, I was closely associated with many persons influential in Pennsylvania's political and official life.

Through this important epoch in expansion and development of American civilization were included events after and in three wars—the aftermath of the struggle between the North and the South in 1861-1865, the war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba in 1898, and the World War of 1914-1918.

I was born in McVeytown, Pennsylvania, in the beautiful Juniata Valley, in January, 1861. My father was a blacksmith and I was the oldest of eleven children. I had my share of the wonderful sports of the boys of the Valley, but I soon learned to work. I was required by

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my father, who believed that work was an essential of a boy's development, to assist him in the shop. Many a night I swung a sledge in forging old horseshoes into nail rods and, later, into horseshoe nails. At that time it was customary to utilize discarded horseshoes in this way, for this was before the days when manufactured nails could be bought by the keg.

Whenever I could steal away from the shop I liked to go to the Pennsylvania Canal. What joy we boys had in dropping from overhead bridges to the decks of passing boats! Now and then we were welcome, but just as frequently we were compelled to make a flying leap to the tow-path.

On the banks of the canal and over a blacksmith shop I began my long printing and newspaper career in the office of the *McVeytown Journal*. This paper was launched in 1873 in the tin shop of an uncle, but was subsequently removed to the building which sheltered my father's blacksmith shop. There I received, when regular wages began, six dollars per month. Part of this sum was paid in produce. The amount may seem small, but that was the day when a good foreman was given but twelve dollars a week.

The second home of the *Journal*, like its predecessor, overlooked the canal, and its dark waters covered many of my youthful sins. Anyone who has been engaged in a printing office knows that nothing is so annoying to the youthful apprentice as pried type. What dreary hours every printer's devil spends in sorting, piece by piece, not only the pi for which he is responsible, but that which should rightly be cared for by others, its authors! My uncle might have suspected the reason for reduced "sorts" in the cases, if he had seen the messed type thrown out of the window into the canal. This method certainly was more expeditious than the painful sorting of pi.

At the age of twenty I went to Orbisonia and there became the editor and part owner of the *Dispatch*. It

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was here my natural bent toward political writing found full expression in the campaign of General James A. Beaver for Governor. With all the zeal of youth I turned an independent newspaper to the most strenuous support of General Beaver. My partner, who supported loyally John Stewart, the Independent Republican opponent of General Beaver, suggested that the paper ought not to back either candidate. I explained to him that, while he was personally interested in the business, I was the editor and felt that I was doing what was right. At any rate the *Dispatch* continued to do its utmost for the gallant soldier who went down to defeat in spite of everything his friends could do for him. Fortunately he was more successful later on.

After about two years in Orbisonia I concluded that a larger and more interesting field might be open to me at Harrisburg. The decision brought me to the Capital of Pennsylvania early in January, 1883. There I became associated in a modest way with the Harrisburg *Telegraph*, which I was destined to take over as owner and publisher in January, 1901. Thus my connection with the *Telegraph*, as assistant foreman in the composing room, exchange editor, city editor, and finally, editor-in-chief and publisher, has continued for forty-three years, except for a period when I represented a number of newspapers as correspondent at Camp Meade during the war with Spain, and later when I was busy with a longer list of newspapers, journals and trade magazines, which I had acquired gradually.

Early in my first decade in Harrisburg a proposition was put up that I take over the St. Paul *Dispatch*, and I made one or two trips to the metropolis of Minnesota to discuss the matter. Important citizens of St. Paul were interested, including Pay Director John N. Speel, of the United States Navy; his uncle, former Governor Alexander Ramsey; Alexander R. Speel, and former Mayor Rice. The idea was finally abandoned, because we could not make a satisfactory news service arrange-

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ment covering the Dakotas. This service was then controlled by the publisher of the *St. Paul Globe*. Later, about 1889, I gave serious thought to several propositions in Tacoma and Portland, Oregon. There was also an inviting tender from the *Spokane Review*.

Early in 1917 the *Telegraph* took over and merged another Harrisburg evening newspaper—the *Star Independent*—in an effort to concentrate the Central Pennsylvania field for the general good of the newspaper industry on the threshold of America's entrance into the World War. Victor F. Lawson and other great publishers wrote me commending this move.

In my varied newspaper experiences at McVeytown, Orbisonia and Harrisburg I always studied with interest the careers of men and found in them much that has been helpful. I have likened myself to a watchman on a tower, who has looked down on the men and women of many years. If the interpretation of the doings and personalities of those who have passed my way and the incidental comment on episodes as they have appeared to me should be of service in giving some little conception of what manner of men these were and their public and private service I shall be content.

In the preparation of this book I have been indebted to many good friends for illustrations, suggestions and other valued assistance.

E. J. STACKPOLE

Harrisburg
January, 1927 .

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CHAPTER I

FROM GOVERNOR HOYT TO GOVERNOR FISHER

FROM Henry M. Hoyt to John S. Fisher is a long step—from 1881 to 1927—and it represents a newspaper era full of interesting happenings and much of political change. It seems to me that political upheavals as well as great business turnovers transpire in cycles of approximately twenty years. What has been the accepted order, especially in political alignments, is overturned by large accessions of new voters to the ranks.

HALF A CENTURY OF STATE ADMINISTRATION

For almost half a century the political genuflections of the two important parties in Pennsylvania and their factional offshoots have given the newspaper writers ample opportunity for ingenious interpretation of what is termed the political trend. For the most part the whole interesting panorama has centered in the tremendous dominance of the Republican party. Only when the majority organization indulges in factional activities and thus divides its vote has the minority or the allied forces represented by lesser political organizations any chance whatever to elect its candidates. Party division always precedes party defeat. This has been true not only of

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national party movements, but it extends down to the ward and precinct.

So long as the dominant leaders in my day maintained the integrity of the party organization the Republicans had no difficulty in electing their candidates. Of course, there were many personal ambitions which frequently clashed in the Republican inner circles, but able and farsighted leaders were usually successful in suppressing dangerous outbreaks in the open.

RISE AND FALL OF POLITICAL DYNASTIES

Not until about 1880 did the potential influence of Civil War chieftains begin to wane somewhat. Always these distinguished veterans of the war between the States were given great consideration in the making up of tickets. My first recollection of the clash which eventually terminated the Cameron dynasty was the manipulation of a tense political situation by several leaders and the Civil War Governor, Andrew Gregg Curtin. Developments of that period presaged the gradual ascendancy of Matthew Stanley Quay, who assumed sole leadership on the retirement of United States Senator James Donald Cameron, after his amazing announcement in favor of free silver. There were many interesting conferences about that time, and I was present when Senator Cameron took some of his more intimate followers into his confidence at his residence in Harrisburg. It was a notable occasion, and as my father was always known in Mifflin County as a Cameron man, I had learned to regard General Simon Cameron and later his son, who succeeded him, as the beau ideal of political sagacity and generalship. Only those in close touch with what transpired at that particular juncture have any proper conception of the tremendous personal power of the old-time Republican organization.

HOYT, McCLURE, AND CURTIN

Governor Henry M. Hoyt, a man of great ability and political acumen, has always been regarded as the prime

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mover in the break which resulted finally in the election of a Democrat as Governor. But I am not certain that Hoyt had a hand in the factional warfare.

There are naturally some lapses of memory after Hoyt and during the political chaos which followed his retirement in the first month of 1883. He was regarded as one of the brainiest of the Governors of Pennsylvania. As he was fading from the picture there was a good deal of criticism of his alleged attitude toward the Republican organization, especially his so-called ingratitude to those who had promoted his ambitions for several years.

If I am not mistaken, he was accused of persuading former Governor Andrew G. Curtin to join the growing camp of irreconcilables who finally overturned Republican control of the State in 1882.

Curtin was tremendously popular with the survivors of the Civil War, and, as I remember, he had recently returned from Russia where he had been the Ambassador of the United States. I am of the impression that he was met at the dock in New York by a factional emissary and persuaded to cast his fortunes with the insurgents then beginning to show their teeth. My last memory of Curtin is a scene at Gettysburg where a large outing of the Grand Army of the Republic had attracted thousands. Curtin was to the end a great favorite of the soldiers, and I can still see him as he made his way up the slope toward the Hancock line on Cemetery Hill. Always there were about him groups of veterans and never did they fail in paying him homage. He was induced to declare for Horace Greeley for President against Grant. After Grant's election he went over to the Democrats and represented a Democratic district in Congress for several terms.

Not until the Republican break in 1882 did former Governor Hoyt leave the party reservation. Then he supported John Stewart for Governor. He declared his position a day or two before the election and asked his

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friends to back the Independent ticket. Pattison won by the small majority of 3,541. This was all part of the plan to unhorse the Camerons and, of course, Colonel A. K. McClure had a hand in this intrigue also.

REPUBLICAN SUPREMACY THREATENED

Not, however, until 1882 did the factional breach widen to such an extent as to threaten Republican supremacy. During the previous year or two there had been all sorts of political maneuvering and disintegration of party alignments, but strenuous efforts were made to maintain the organization strength throughout Pennsylvania. However, such men as Senator John Stewart, of Franklin County, Charles S. Wolfe, of Union County, and others of less prominence managed to arouse widespread discontent.

These united in the campaign of 1882 upon Stewart as an Independent candidate for Governor against the regular nominee, General James A. Beaver. This party split opened the door to Democratic success and the election of Robert E. Pattison of Philadelphia. Among the Republican regulars the opinion was frequently expressed that the election of a Democrat was preferable to the choice of an independent like Stewart. This has not been an unusual view in factional warfare.

When Pattison was chosen to lead the Democratic hosts it was regarded as inconceivable that the powerful Republican organization could be overthrown, but already the existing dynasty was tottering to its fall as the result of factional assaults and ambitious men combining their forces, boring from within for a new alignment and party control.

Senator Cameron's wholly unexpected declaration in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver was a great shock to the party at large and among orthodox Republicans was looked upon as heretical to the last degree. Cameron was not lacking in courage, but finally he concluded that it was only reasonable he should step aside while he held convictions so out of harmony with rec-

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ognized Republican principles. Under the circumstances it was natural that the Cameron mantle, already shared by Matthew Stanley Quay, should become his sole possession, albeit not without protest here and there.

THE DEFEAT OF GENERAL BEAVER

This remarkable transfer of a powerful leadership was not to be accomplished without serious disturbance of the party machinery and much resentment. It involved necessarily the lesser leaders in the congressional districts and subordinate divisions, and internecine warfare was soon in progress in all sections of Pennsylvania. As a consequence the Democrats were greatly encouraged, and with the active cooperation of the dissatisfied Republican element General James A. Beaver, of Bellefonte, gallant Civil War veteran and a man of the highest character, was defeated for the gubernatorial office, his triumphant rival being the rather youthful and inexperienced Philadelphia reformer, Robert Emory Pattison. How the Governor-elect came to Harrisburg in pursuance of his ideas of Jeffersonian simplicity and refused even an escort, walking from the railroad station to the Capitol for the modest inaugural ceremony upon which he insisted, is a matter of history.

Governor Pattison plunged into the development of his reform policies and refused absolutely to listen to the protests of the elder statesmen in the Democratic party who believed they should mould the administration's course. He gave all to understand that he was the anointed of the people and that any plebeian counsel was not wanted. Meanwhile the independent element of the Republican party continued to give him such comfort as might naturally be expected in a period of transition, not because they loved Pattison more, but Quay less.

THE GROWTH OF PATTISON

Here was a state of things without relish to many old-line Democrats, and almost immediately rumblings of

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discontent were heard. But the Governor proceeded undeviatingly on his predestined way, refusing absolutely to be diverted from his chosen course. Pattison was a handsome man—tall, swarthy, erect, always well groomed and almost fastidious in his dress.

At first he was rather awkward in public speaking, but later he overcame what seemed like timidity. In his second term he spoke with considerable force and apparently with ease, but he was never an orator. From the start the young Governor had the support of the church organizations. He was a regular attendant at the services of the Grace Methodist Church in Harrisburg and took a prominent part in religious conferences. He was a prime favorite where Methodists foregathered.

Having been elected as the result of the schism in the Republican party, Pattison was disposed to favor those who had united with the Democrats in his support, but he shocked and greatly disappointed certain recalcitrant persons of his own party who presumed to demand and even dictate what should be done in the distribution of the loaves and fishes. He rather enjoyed the discomfiture of that class of nondescript politicians who still represent a considerable section of the voting population, never adhering to any party, but always expecting the consideration due to so-called independent and non-partisan groups.

It is my belief that no element of our citizenry is less deserving of public favor. As one who has observed the official policies and movements of a generation, I am more strongly convinced than ever of the value of the two-party system as understood in the American form of government. Futile third-party or factional groupings serve only to emphasize the inherent and fundamental strength of the majority and minority parties. Thus will the interests of the people be best safeguarded. Without such a division of political control we have no proper balance of public opinion. The fleeting and unattached sentiment of the ragged edge overturns the

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more conservative and intelligent judgment of the people as a whole.

Between his first and second terms—a period of four years—Pattison gradually came to a full realization of the fact that party fealty is in the end more or less of a virtue. I suspect his experience with the non-partisan groups made a radical change in his political theories. Indeed, his errors of administration were, for the most part, to be ascribed to the constant pressure of those who were persuaded in their own conceit that the Governor could not get along without their counsel.

VOLUNTEER COUNSELORS

This caused him considerable irritation, but he is a strong man who can entirely throw off the persistent influence of the uninvited personal “advisor” who believes he is qualified as is no other to keep the elective official in the straight and narrow path. Most public officials are afflicted in this way, but the head of a State is always the first objective of the persistent purveyors of free and unlimited advice. Pattison began his second term in January, 1891, but outside the appointive offices the rest of the administration was in control of the Republicans.

Lewis C. Cassidy was certainly the power behind the throne of the first Pattison administration. George F. Ross, of Harrisburg, an authority on Capitol Hill, tells me that the Attorney General declined to accept an annual pass on the Pennsylvania Railroad when that courtesy was extended to him, and that, as a clerk in the department, he had often accompanied Mr. Cassidy to the railroad station when he was returning to Philadelphia and saw him purchase his ticket to that city. He adds, however, that none of his three predecessors with whom Mr. Ross was associated failed to accept the pass that was sent to them.

During Pattison's second administration, his mind had undergone some change also as to political values and he

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moved along a way that was less rocky than the course pursued in the beginning of his public career at Harrisburg. He was less nervous, far less subject to outbursts against visiting delegations, and more capable of appreciating the humorous phases of his position.

A STUDY IN EXTRA SESSIONS

His extra-session experiment to compel an antagonistic Legislature to reapportion the State, which the same lawmakers had refused to do in the regular session that had just adjourned, was quite as futile as the later effort of Governor Pinchot to force the legislative branch to do the will of the executive in the matter of electoral reform, law enforcement and conservation of the water and other natural resources of the Commonwealth.

All through this hectic period of 1883 the warriors on the factional lines within the Republican party and the entrenchments of the common enemy—the Democrats—displayed that extreme courtesy not always observed in legislative assemblies. It was an outstanding feature of the Senate. Each member tried to outdo the other in parliamentary amenities. Even in the midst of warm debates the dignity of the body was constantly maintained. Thomas Valentine Cooper spoke frequently in a semi-humorous vein and occasionally aroused the ire of his Democratic colleagues by suggesting amendments to bills which had a political trend.

Some of the older observers of political events in Pennsylvania will recall that Representative Al Crawford refused to accept his extra session salary in 1883. This was because he made a declaration in a heated moment that he would not take the money. Afterward a special law engineered by the late Senator C. L. Magee restored the rejected compensation to the big Philadelphia legislator who was a unique and picturesque character for many years on Capitol Hill.

It will be found that the few extraordinary sessions of the General Assembly have been fruitful of nothing so much as personal encounters, partisan bitterness and

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political mendacity of every degree. As a rule, the lawmakers resent deeply any attempt of a coordinate branch of the State government to force the legislative body to do something it does not want to do.

The Legislature will always regard any interference by the Governor as impertinent and directly an infringement of the legislative prerogatives. The concrete results of all the extra sessions in Pennsylvania rolled into one would hardly substantiate the contention that such special incursions are justified from the standpoint of the public good. It should be noted, however, that the extra session convened by Governor Pennypacker was fruitful of several important enactments which called from President Theodore Roosevelt, on the occasion of the dedication of the new Capitol, a forceful expression of approval as to the substantial achievements of the Pennypacker administration.

Extra sessions of the Legislature almost invariably invite political controversy and the clashing of rival groups. Starting on the theory that the Governor has no justification for reconvening the lawmakers, the effort to compel legislation against the will of a large element of the legislative body is almost invariably productive of rancorous antagonism that generally defeats the purpose of the session.

IMPEACHED

In Governor Pattison's administration impeachment proceedings divided attention with the special session. Now impeachment proceedings sound more formidable than an ordinary court session. Governor Pattison endeavored, in a Democratic move, to throw out a Republican Auditor General. Day after day the case progressed before the Senate. It was a most tiresome and long-drawn-out session. So wearisome became the proceedings that even the Harrisburg people, who at the start crowded the galleries, soon lost interest.

Day after day, also, the effort to get the Legislature to do something in the way of apportionment went on with-

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out result. It was the claim of his political opponents that the Governor had no right to reconvene the lawmakers who were responsible under their oaths. He declined to accept this view, and insisted that they should remain in session and do the apportionment job which he had passed on to them immediately on adjournment of the regular session. The cost to the State was a pretty penny, each member receiving one thousand dollars for the regular session of one hundred days, and ten dollars per day extra. The futile performance continued until after the November election, but nothing much happened.

General James A. Beaver, denied election in the campaign of 1882 because of the Republican factional row, was vindicated in the election four years later when he assumed office as head of the State administration. A Christian gentleman, a brave soldier, a loyal and patriotic citizen, he brought to the service of the State all the fine qualities which had made him a brave and gallant officer in the Civil War. He had lost a leg in battle, and I was always interested in watching him ride a horse. With practically all of one leg gone, he managed to sit erect and with more poise than most military men with two legs. No more gallant figure ever rode down Pennsylvania Avenue on the occasion of an inauguration than General Beaver, grand marshal of the great procession which featured the induction into office of President Benjamin Harrison.

BEAVER WAS NO PACIFIST

As a military officer, he was a strict disciplinarian, and in his various addresses to the National Guard he never failed to impress upon the soldiery of the State the fact that, unless a soldier could use a gun, he was of no use in the scheme of national defense. In short, he was no pacifist, nor did he favor any halfway measures in the organization of the citizen soldiers. He was surrounded by a cabinet of able and loyal men. He was teacher of a Bible class during his official term in Harrisburg, and

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was much in demand as a speechmaker on occasions of great religious gatherings. A ready and forceful speaker, he impressed all who heard him with his sincerity and earnestness. During my experience on the *Oriskania Dispatch* I had been an enthusiastic supporter of General Beaver in the campaign of 1882. Through a relative of his in the furnace town he was given some rather enthusiastic reports of my campaign activities in his behalf. He made me to understand that what I had done in his interest was appreciated, and all connected with his administration showed constant desire to aid in my daily work. He felt that, as a boy of twenty-one, I had demonstrated substantial loyalty in what I undertook in his campaign.

General Beaver was chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation in the famous National Convention which voted during three hundred and six ballots for a third term for Grant. He was a fine type of the patriotic Pennsylvanian, and I have never ceased to admire him as a soldier and an executive.

HERO OF JOHNSTOWN

General Daniel Hartman Hastings, who was the Adjutant General during the administration of Governor Beaver, his Bellefonte townsman, became a national hero in the great Johnstown flood of 1889. He went to Johnstown in command of the troops and relieved the stricken people of the Conemaugh Valley. He had been increasing in popular favor because of his reputation as an orator and also because of his long connection with the National Guard. His popular nomination for Governor resulted in his election in 1894.

During his administration of four years there was another lively political fight in the Republican party which seriously affected the political fortunes of General Hastings. He challenged the leadership of Senator Quay, the contest converging on the election of a chairman of the State Committee. Senator Quay announced himself

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for chairman and the Hastings group put into the field B. Frank Gilkeson, of Bucks County, as their champion. Quay won after a terrific campaign.

About this time there were rumors from Washington that Governor Hastings was about to be tendered a position in the Cabinet, the post of Secretary of the Navy being most frequently mentioned. Just then efforts were being made to bring about party harmony, and I had it from the Governor himself that Senator Quay was coming to see him and that he expected an important announcement. The result was another disappointment and humiliation.

General Hastings did not long survive his term of service; he retired from office in 1899 and died January 9, 1903.

FRANCHISE PLUMS FOR FAVORITES

During the administration of William A Stone, who followed Governor Hastings, there was pending before the Legislature a bill opening the State to electric railway expansion. Franchises were sought in every county, and long before the acts were spread upon the statute books Capitol Hill was overrun by lawyers and speculators investigating the routes already covered on paper or by lines actually constructed in order to discover the areas available for such facilities and exploitation.

It was openly charged that the favorites of the Stone administration—politicians and others—were given the rights of way before it was known to the public that the bills had actually been approved by the Governor. Many of these charters were later surrendered to the Commonwealth as of no practical value. In some cases the routes passed through towns, and it was necessary for the promoters to obtain the local rights of way. This also opened an interesting situation, as the small town politicians were quite as avaricious as those of the larger cities. My recollection is that Governor Stone and members of his Cabinet and other potential party leaders

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spent a whole night at the Executive Mansion going over applications for electric railway charters. It is said that many a messenger sped through the night to be on the ground and take over desirable territory before others could stake their claims.

Governor Stone was the center of much factional activity, and the failure of his efforts to make John P. Elkin, then Attorney General, his successor on Capitol Hill was one of his great disappointments. Stone was a physical giant and a natural philosopher. His little book of Tioga County memories is a classic of its kind.

Toward the close of this political era Israel W. Durham, the powerful Philadelphia boss and a personal friend of Elkin, deserted the latter in his fight for Governor at the behest of Quay, the outcome being the nomination and election of Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker. This broke Durham's heart. Elkin was subsequently promoted to the Supreme Court, but he was never again the same forceful man. Most people who have any knowledge of political movements in Pennsylvania, recall that the turning down of Elkin was due to the opposition of the Pennsylvania and the Reading Railroad Companies, the favor of the Standard Oil and the Wabash Railroad interests being on the side of the Attorney General.

Judge Pennypacker having been unexpectedly catapulted into the gubernatorial office when Quay, the big boss, concluded for reasons of his own to crush the Elkin boom, then almost at flower, presented an enigma which the people were to solve each in his own way.

PENNYPACKER A GOOD MIXER

Governor Pennypacker came to Capitol Hill smarting from the sharp criticism of the Philadelphia *North American* and other anti-Quay newspapers. They had pounded him without mercy during the campaign, and he was about ready to get even in some manner. So a new libel measure was introduced at his instigation and

finally passed. This was known among the newspaper people as the "Muzzle Bill" and soon the correspondents of that day organized and adopted as a name for a new newspaper social group the "Muzzle Club of Harrisburg." A. Boyd Hamilton was the active spirit. This organization assembled frequently during the first few years, and on one occasion Governor Pennypacker was a guest. Notwithstanding some peculiarities, he was a good mixer. Realizing the attitude of many of the newspapers toward him, he made a speech which was witty, philosophical and in very good form throughout. As the loving cup was passed, according to the custom in those days, Governor Pennypacker was fully initiated as an honorary member of the club. From that time on he ceased to be so much an object of criticism by the antagonistic newspapers. In fact, before the end of his term Governor Pennypacker had proved his worth and demonstrated unusual ability. He had many quaint characteristics but was always a true-blue Pennsylvanian.

I recall that he was much out of joint with the Dauphin County court in its attitude toward himself and others in the Capitol graft cases. As a former judge he believed that the Dauphin County jurists had gone out of their way not only in interpreting the law but in construing the facts for the juries. He felt, as I believe, that they were more or less affected in their judgment by the public hue and cry against the defendants. Devoted to Pennsylvania and all its interests, proud of the State's history and of its great men, he impressed me with the fact that too many Pennsylvanians were throwing stones at the keystone of the arch. Those who imagined he was an easy mark when he assumed the gubernatorial office soon found that they were barking up the wrong tree. He had courage and vision and was loyal and patriotic to the limit. Newspaper men who knew him will hold a place in their memories for this unusual man.

Governor Pennypacker will always be remembered as the founder of the State Constabulary, a peace force

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which has been glorified by Katherine Mayo in several books that are as thrilling as any Wild West stories ever written. The force has a record of wonderful achievement. Through its fine discipline a comparatively small battalion of men has been responsible for maintaining peace in the most troublous sections of Pennsylvania. The Governor was much criticised for creating a semi-military body of this character, but he was not the sort of man to turn aside from what he conceived to be a reasonable State policy. He had physical and moral courage. While there were characteristics which invited ridicule in certain quarters he maintained his position without regard to what others might say or think.

Not long ago George Nox McCain told of some of the motives which actuated Governor Pennypacker in his course at Harrisburg. He became as popular as his able and brilliant Attorney General, Hampton L. Carson, who was a strong pillar of the administration.

With some satisfaction Governor Pennypacker told of his first visit to Harrisburg, when he slept on the portico of the Capitol during the organization of an emergency regiment with which he was identified and which had been called out to resist the advance of the Confederate Army upon Harrisburg.

A SCHOOL-TEACHER'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Pennypacker—as also Brumbaugh and others—was a school-teacher in his younger days. Depending upon his own efforts for an education at the University of Pennsylvania, he graduated with honor. He had a humble start on his life career as a lawyer. His autobiography is most unusual. His constructive administration in many ways will stand to his credit always.

In his autobiography the chapter, “My Four Years as Governor” gives an illuminating Pennypacker attitude:

“It is to be hoped that my readers, if I ever have any, will look with lenity upon the introduction into these

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

memoirs of some of my short speeches. If their eyes be wide open they will see that I am endeavoring to impress them, as I ever did my listeners, with the facts that show the great importance in American life of our own State. It is only the simple truth that I have been the first who, upon every possible occasion, in the face of those who have been taught and would rather think otherwise, has boldly asserted these facts and rigidly insisted upon their acceptance. All of my writing predecessors have been more or less explanatory and exculpatory, and to that extent weak. It is to be hoped the time is near when our people will be inspired with a proper appreciation of and pride in their own wonderful influence upon broad affairs."

STUART SUPERIOR TO POLITICAL CLAPTRAP

Edwin Sidney Stuart came to Capitol Hill immediately on the heels of Judge Pennypacker. His campaign for Governor was at once involved in the Capitol furnishing scandals which threatened to engulf the Republican party. Stuart, having had a long experience as mayor of Philadelphia and head of important business interests, was not to be knocked off his feet by political claptrap. He was out in the State speechmaking at the time the explosion broke and, while the detonation was terrific the level-headed Philadelphian lost no time in announcing his position. Should it be established that there was any crookedness in the furnishing or construction of the Capitol, he assured the people, those guilty would be speedily tried and punished. He left no question in the minds of anyone as to his earnest purpose to get after the alleged grafters. His statement was accepted everywhere at its full value, and, while the exposé made the campaign somewhat difficult, he was triumphantly elected and gave Pennsylvania an administration which still stands out as one approved by the people of all parties and political affiliations.

His life in Harrisburg was such as to attach the people

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to him. He took part in many of the community affairs and always manifested an interest in the upbuilding of the city as the Capital of the Commonwealth. He was not easily shaken when he had taken a position and could say no quite as emphatically as yes. Once he had determined a course of action he stuck to his guns. During his administration I decided to erect the *Telegraph* Building, and he was pleased to make the principal speech at the cornerstone ceremony. Always appreciative of the efforts of the press, Governor Stuart maintained throughout his administration close contact with the newspapers and their representatives. He had no false notions of the alleged sacrosanct attributes of the public official. Always he believed that an elective official of the people should serve them to the best of his ability, but in doing so there was no obligation resting upon him to set himself upon a pedestal far above the crowd. So Governor Stuart served four years with such acceptability to the people that he left office with general acclaim and regret that he could not succeed himself. He was a party man, but not hard-boiled.

Always kindly and courteous, Governor Stuart gave close attention to the important affairs of his office. But he had time for the reception of the people. On one occasion two young women—one was from Philadelphia and the other was from St. Louis—who did not know each other, expressed a hope of paying their respects to Governor Stuart, whom they greatly admired. George F. Ross arranged with the Governor's secretary for an appointment and had the young women meet him at the main entrance of the Capitol. After introducing each to the other, he escorted the fair visitors to the Executive department, where they were promptly ushered into the Governor's presence. He said to the Philadelphia girl that she represented the finest city in the world and to the St. Louis girl that she came from the hottest city in the world. He explained that he had been to the St. Louis National Convention which nominated McKinley for

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

President and hadn't recovered from the heat of that occasion. As the young women were leaving his office he turned to his desk, upon which was a vase of carnations, and these he graciously divided between the two young visitors.

WHY HE WANTED A VETERINARIAN

Coming into the gubernatorial office after a strenuous campaign, and facing the Capitol graft conspiracy trials, he was naturally much disturbed, especially when the adjournment of the Legislature left several hundred bills on his desk to be disposed of within the usual period of thirty days. Returning to the Executive Mansion, he said to his sister, the hostess of the administration, with a whimsical grin: "If I am ever taken sick here in Harrisburg, I want you to send for a veterinarian." "Why a veterinarian?" she asked. "Because," said he, "I am such an ass to have left our comfortable home in Philadelphia to come up here to play Governor."

Another story told of him is of more recent date. It has to do with negotiations for the purchase of his business property in Philadelphia, the Leary Book Store on Ninth Street, when the site was wanted for the enlargement of the Gimbel Department Store. For sentimental reasons he and his brother hesitated to dispose of the old stand. One day a realtor called at his office and said, "Governor, I'm going to make an offer which will put you and your brother on Easy Street." "We don't want on Easy Street," was his reply; "we want to stay on Ninth Street!"

John Kinley Tener, another of the level-headed Governors of Pennsylvania, who served well all the people, was inaugurated January 17, 1911, after a campaign of extreme bitterness and much misrepresentation. He was nominated in the closing years of the State Convention era in Harrisburg and at once was the object of virulent opposition engendered by certain disappointed politicians and Democrats who hoped to come into power

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through his defeat. In his campaign the *Telegraph* gave him vigorous support when many other papers were either silent or were throwing mud into his back yard. He was ridiculed as an ex-baseball player, but it was never charged that he was not a skillful and brilliant representative of the great national game. He had traveled around the world with the famous Spaulding baseball team and it fell to him to meet many of the crowned heads of Europe as the business representative of the touring aggregation. I shall never forget his story of how a match game was played at the foot of the Pyramids.

TENER AND CAPITOL PARK CHANGES

Governor Tener approved the bill providing for the purchase of twenty or thirty blocks of property on the east front of the Capitol for enlargement of the Capitol Park area. This plan had been agitated for many years and, while it was manifestly a proper improvement and one desirable from every standpoint, the political bosses of the Legislature continued, session after session, to turn it down. A large delegation of the Chamber of Commerce of Harrisburg waited upon the Governor after the passage of the bill in 1911, and the duty was assigned to me of making the speech of the occasion. I recall that Governor Tener gave the matter his sympathetic ear and told me afterwards that he liked my statement that Harrisburg was the sentinel of the Commonwealth and represented properly the more remote sections of the State in promoting the necessary things that should be done for the improvement of the city as the seat of government. A few days later I sailed with the Boston Chamber of Commerce for an interesting semi-official tour of Europe, and the last and most heartening message which came to me on shipboard as we steamed out of the New York harbor was a dispatch advising me that the Governor had signed the Capitol Park bill. He deserves well of the whole State, not only for his interest in this particular matter, but for many con-

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structive things which are to be credited to his administration.

Tener came from the north of Ireland as a lad, and no one who has served in the gubernatorial office has enjoyed more sincerely the confidence of the people of Pennsylvania. It is my honest judgment that but for the great row in the Republican party over the leadership in 1926, which brought into the campaign some unexpected features, John K. Tener would have been nominated. He was unfortunate in the conditions which arose in that campaign, and yet he made a manly canvass, realizing that, as the campaign developed complexities and involved a tremendous political combat, his case was more or less hopeless.

While he was in Harrisburg, Governor Tener was received with real pleasure in the homes of the city. Like Eugene Field he was accustomed to drop in without ceremony and spend an hour or two with those who appreciated his friendliness. No former State official is more cordially greeted on his visits to the Capital City.

MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH

Martin Grove Brumbaugh became Governor in January, 1915, and to him fell the important duty of arousing Pennsylvania to its responsibility in preparing for the national defense in the World War. He is still living and is now head of the Juniata College at Huntingdon, having retired as Governor in January, 1919, after the great cataclysm in Europe.

In 1916 it was announced by strong supporters of Governor Brumbaugh that he would be a candidate for the Presidency. This was not a palatable dose for Senator Penrose, inasmuch as it presaged an unusual situation on the floor of the National Convention, dividing the Pennsylvania delegation. As the intense feeling beneath the surface began to show evidences of eruption here and there, I was asked one night to meet Cyrus E. Woods, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, for a little conference on the Governor's prospects. He

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had previously talked the situation over with the Governor. We went to the Executive Mansion, where Governor Brumbaugh made it clear that he had no desire to continue as a candidate in view of the uncomfortable situation of a political nature which had developed. It was finally decided that Mr. Woods and I should meet United States Senators Penrose and Oliver at the Union League Club in Philadelphia the following day. We did so and I promptly assured both the Senators that my interest was that of a mutual friend acting in the capacity of peacemaker. It was also explained to both Senators that the Governor was ready to retire in the interest of party harmony and in order that he might give full attention to the more important affairs of the State administration. With this in mind we discussed the best way to advise the people of the Governor's attitude. It was concluded that two or three letters would stage a dignified conclusion of the presidential episode. Thereafter Penrose often greeted me with the query, "How is the Chesterfieldian letter writer?"

These letters were outlined at the conference and served their purpose up to a point. Mr. Woods and I returned to Harrisburg the same night and were driven to the Executive Mansion, where the Governor was awaiting us, he having been advised by telephone from Philadelphia that everything had been agreed upon for his friendly and dignified retirement from the national contest.

Before we separated for the night it was understood that the next morning Governor Brumbaugh would make known his retirement through a public statement, but during the night something must have occurred to change his mind, for, on the following day when I called at the Executive Mansion by appointment, he told me that he could not with self-respect retire as a candidate at that time; that the people would certainly misunderstand. I suggested to him that the decision might be unfortunate in that there would be a wrong motive attributed for his

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decision, but he concluded after a day or two of consideration that he would remain in the field.

WHY BRUMBAUGH DID NOT RETIRE

Senator Penrose reached me on the telephone the following evening and asked what had happened to the Governor's statement. I told him that no decision had been reached, but that I feared our peace efforts had failed. It was always my opinion that the Vare influence in Philadelphia was exerted to prevent the Governor's withdrawal, not for his own good, perhaps, but to maintain the Vare prestige in the National Convention.

Meanwhile I had been selected as one of the candidates for delegate-at-large from Pennsylvania and was acceptable to both the Penrose and Brumbaugh interests. About this time Senator Oliver met me at the Pennsylvania railroad station in Harrisburg and assured me that of all the candidates for delegates to the National Convention from Pennsylvania I was the one acceptable to all sides. This was gratifying, of course, but I had no desire to sit as a buffer between the Pennsylvania factional forces at Chicago.

I have always felt that Governor Brumbaugh would have been happier in sticking to his original decision to get out of the race, as it was obviously a hopeless contest from his standpoint and he had no real pleasure in the political controversy. Senator Penrose particularly did not want to harass the Governor and he was clearly disappointed when later it was decided by some of the Governor's friends that he should remain in the field. I had previously declared that, unless harmony was restored, I would not go to Chicago as a delegate or in any other capacity than as a newspaper man. When the final break came and it was decided that the Governor should remain in the fight, I announced publicly my purpose not to stand as a delegate at large, notwithstanding petitions in my interest were already in circulation in different parts of the State at the direction of the Republican State Committee.

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Ten years later Mr. Woods was to serve again as a mediator in the remarkable clash of political interests in the primary campaign of 1926. He is a natural diplomat, as his service in Portugal, Spain and Japan has demonstrated. President Coolidge appointed him a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the closing days of 1926 while he was in Florida with his family resting from his labors as a campaign pacificater.

Dr. Brumbaugh was a poor boy of the Juniata Valley. One of the stories which sticks to my memory is how he lifted a mortgage on his father's farm through a contract for telephone poles which he cut along the Juniata River. In one of the great floods of that tortuous stream the logs were washed away from their moorings, and scattered from Huntingdon County along the Juniata and Susquehanna Rivers all the way to Harrisburg, and beyond. Undaunted, young Brumbaugh followed the logs and succeeded in recovering and marketing most of them. He was thus able to accomplish what he had set out to do—cancel the mortgage. He determined to have an education and, after teaching school, became a superintendent, first of Huntingdon County schools, then of the Philadelphia schools. Later he was founder of the educational system of Porto Rico and there served for a time as president of the Senate.

THE GOOD ROADS TOUR

It was my pleasure to accompany a considerable number of men and women—over a hundred—on an automobile good-roads tour of Pennsylvania with Governor Brumbaugh. This interesting caravan had for its main purpose impressing upon the people in all parts of Pennsylvania the benefits of permanent highways. We finished each day with our faces concealed behind a mask of dust, but it was a great experience. What remains vividly in memory is the versatility of the Governor's speeches. These covered local history, noted Pennsylvanians of the particular district in which we stopped, and graphic word painting of the picturesque scenery.

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The punch for better roads came at the end of each address.

Just as Governor Pennypacker organized popular tours to Harrisburg that the people might inspect for themselves the imposing Capitol building, so Governor Brumbaugh arranged this automobile tour in the first year of his administration that a representative group of the people could see and report what was being accomplished in the building of modern highways.

It was a spectacular tour. Highway Commissioner Cunningham preceded the party as pilot and announced the coming of the Governor and his guests through a megaphone. It was a good-roads crusade from start to finish. More than 900 miles were covered in the journey, and in all the important cities along the way, as well as in the smaller towns and hamlets, the people turned out to welcome the Governor and his guests. Thousands of school children were lined up on both sides of the highway near the school buildings on the route, and the squares of every town were packed with interested people to hear what the Governor had to say about good roads. No more eloquent presentation of the subject has ever been made and it must be said to the everlasting credit of "M. G."—as the Governor was known among his intimates—that he put over a most useful and far-reaching bit of propaganda for a good cause. His real purpose was to demonstrate to the people the usefulness of the modern highway for the improvement of agricultural conditions, the bringing together of the people for the betterment of the city and countryside, and seeing Pennsylvania.

He was accustomed on this tour to refer to the "loafing hillsides," and urged the people to give attention to the reforestation of the denuded mountains and ridges. It was a great "Seeing Pennsylvania First" tour and at the conclusion of the trip the Governor declared that "the end sought has been attained."

As I have frequently testified in public and private,

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the Brumbaugh administration was responsible for much that was constructive. M. G.'s speeches and formal papers are fine specimens of unadulterated English. As an educator he has accomplished a great deal and is now doing a fine job at Juniata College on his native heath.

SPOUL AND UNITED STATES SENATORS

William Cameron Sproul, a newspaper man by training and instinct, was inaugurated in January, 1919, and served four years until January, 1923. He had long experience as a legislator and for several years was prominent in the State Senate as a leader. While never aggressive in the sense of political factionalism, he was in close touch with political developments through his administration. At the National Convention of 1920, in which I sat as a delegate, he was the favorite candidate of Pennsylvania for the Presidency. During the preliminaries of this contest the first manifestations of the political ruction that resulted in Governor Pinchot's nomination and election became apparent.

On the death of United States Senators Penrose and Crow the appointment of successors fell to Governor Sproul. It must be said to his everlasting credit that he resisted the temptation to gratify his own ambition when the opportunity was presented twice in his term of four years. His selection of George Wharton Pepper to complete the term of Senator Penrose and, incidentally, take the coveted place of political power as Pennsylvania member of the Republican National Committee, was widely commended, as was likewise his choice of Major David A. Reed, a World War veteran, to fill the gap in the Senate caused by the death of William E. Crow, who had been appointed to complete the term of Senator Philander C. Knox.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the Sproul administration was the effort to revise the Constitution, first by a referendum on the subject, and then through a commission authorized by the Legislature to study the fundamental instrument and recommend such recon-

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struction of the organic document as might seem to be required after thorough consideration.

MORE ABOUT GOOD ROADS

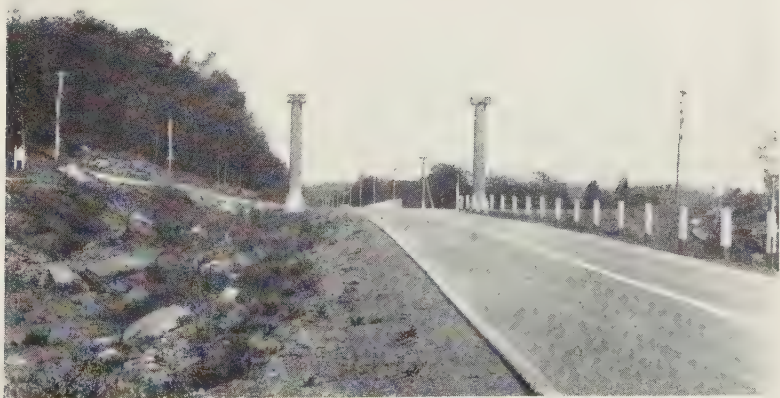
Governor Sproul will long be remembered for his constructive effort in behalf of modern highways for Pennsylvania. What is known as the Sproul system of roads is the basis of the fine highways of the State and all extensions of the system are in harmony with the Sproul plan. One after another the Governors of Pennsylvania have managed to further the progress and prosperity of the Commonwealth by some definite achievement, but no single act of one Governor will stand out so prominently as the Sproul scheme of modern road-building. He brought to his aid Lewis C. Sadler as Commissioner of Highways, and in this choice of a practical and courageous businessman for an important service the Governor exhibited the same earnestness of purpose as in his choice of Gifford Pinchot for Commissioner of Forestry. He was determined to surround himself with men of brains and vision, and any analysis of his administration will prove the wisdom of his course in striving for the best results for Pennsylvania. He allowed political considerations to drop into second place or even lower.

Always a newspaper man, the Governor recognized the value of cooperation with the press. He early foresaw how helpful the press was certain to prove in the working out of his administration policies. Closely identified for years with the industrial and manufacturing interests of Pennsylvania, he clearly understood the problems affecting these fundamental features of the State's development. He had no sympathy with the anti-business propaganda of theorists who camouflaged their ignorance of facts by high-sounding words.

A lover of Pennsylvania and proud of its history, Governor Sproul embraced every opportunity to further the substantial interests of the Commonwealth. He probably appointed more judges to the various courts than any previous executive, and, so far as I have knowledge,



ON A MAIN HIGHWAY IN PENNSYLVANIA
Before Reconstruction



GATEWAY ON LACKAWANNA TRAIL
Near Clark's Summit, Pennsylvania

HENRY M. HOYT
1879-1883

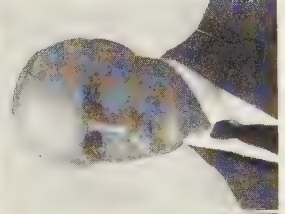
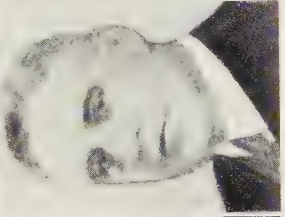
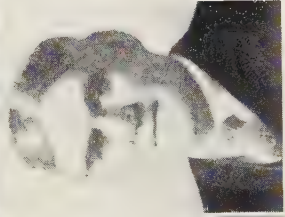
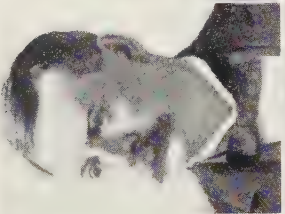
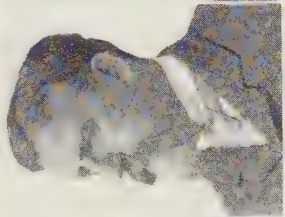
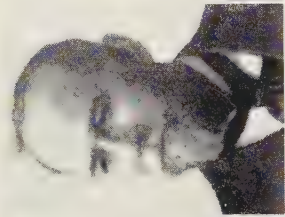
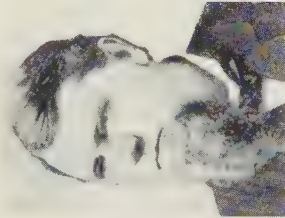
ROBERT E. PATTISON
1883-1887 and 1891-1895
(Two terms)

JAMES A. BEAVER
1887-1891

DANIEL H. HASTINGS
1895-1899

W. A. STONE
1899-1903

S. W. PENNYPACKER
1903-1907



EDWIN S. STUART
1907-1911

JOHN K. TENER
1911-1915

M. G. BRUMBAUGH
1915-1919

WM. C. SPROUL
1919-1923

GIFFORD PINCHOT
1923-1927

JOHN S. FISHER
1927-

TWELVE GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA

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the general standing of the judiciary was improved by his appointments.

He was much perturbed over the failure of the successful bidder to qualify for the construction of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Bridge at Harrisburg, the form of memorial agreed upon by the Legislature to commemorate the service of Pennsylvania men and women in the World War. This was the first design of the character adopted by any State. Governor Sproul knew the history of Pennsylvania intimately and he had increasing pride in its accomplishments. So he encouraged the people to give more attention to matters of education, especially in its practical phases.

A GOOD-WILL ADMINISTRATION

Some one, in recalling the Sproul era, described it as the "good-will administration." This is a rather clear summation of the chief feature of the four years between Brumbaugh and Pinchot. The Sproul term was fairly exceptional in its absence of bitter factionism and all that follows in its train. I once wrote of him as he was being hectored somewhat:

"The fact that Governor Sproul was in public life so long before he assumed his present position is responsible for his good-natured acceptance of the wails of those who don't agree with him in all his policies. It isn't pleasant to be badgered by the fellow who has views on public questions contrary to those of the Governor, but the official who permits himself to be dragooned into doing something which he is not persuaded should be done, simply to quiet the opposition, is pretty certain to suffer disappointment in the end."

I have always felt that it was for Governor Sproul a real renouncing of an honorable ambition when he stepped aside and, favoring others rather than himself, filled two vacancies from Pennsylvania in the United States Senate. It was reported at one time that he would resign and allow the Lieutenant Governor to name him as the Senator. If he ever considered such a course I

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never heard about it; but I am quite certain the plan was urged upon him. Likewise, there was strong pressure to have him appoint Highway Commissioner Sadler, whose sore disappointment is alleged to have had such effect upon his health as to lead to a sudden termination of his life after a brief illness.

Had Governor Sproul been advanced to the United State Senate, there was a quiet understanding at the time that Joseph R. Grundy would become the Pennsylvania member of the Republican National Committee and John S. Fisher the next choice for Governor.

It is a fact that the last three Governors of Pennsylvania have had their eyes fixed upon the White House. Dr. Brumbaugh was an open candidate for the Presidency in 1916, Governor Sproul was the choice of the Pennsylvania delegation in 1920, and Gifford Pinchot has always been regarded as a receptive, if not indeed an active, candidate for the same high office.

PINCHOT THE ADROIT

Gifford Pinchot became Governor on the passing of the administration of Governor Sproul in January, 1923. Whatever may be said of Governor Pinchot, he cannot be charged truthfully with ignorance of political manipulation. Of all the Governors that have passed in my time, not one has been more adroit in utilizing developments from time to time for his own advancement. Of course, his outstanding work is that of a forester and he will leave among other achievements a fine record of accomplishment in the reforestation of the barren and loafing hills of Pennsylvania. If he had done nothing else, this fact should be recorded in all fairness as a valuable effort. As a controversialist he has no superior. I have often thought that his long association with Theodore Roosevelt gave him an insight into the ethics of political maneuvering which was not to so great degree enjoyed by any of his predecessors.

As an administration drops out of the blazing light

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of the sun of public inquiry it is easier to form judgments and make a fair appraisal of its achievements. So it has proved in the case of Gifford Pinchot. He has in every phase of his direction of affairs on Capitol Hill played the role of lone wolf, as I have demonstrated elsewhere especially in some comment on his part in the 1926 primary contest. Many persons will never forgive him for defeating United States Senator Pepper, as they believe. Just so, thousands will always maintain that Roosevelt was responsible for Woodrow Wilson in the White House, and that John Stewart was responsible for turning over the gubernatorial office in Pennsylvania to Robert Emory Pattison, another Democrat.

PINCHOT'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Thousands of Pennsylvanians are earnestly of opinion that the man from Pike should have full credit for "cleaning up the mess" at Harrisburg, meaning the financial status of the Commonwealth, but other thousands will hail with joy unrestrained and unconfined when he makes good his pre-election promise to give his whole thought and all his energy to being Governor for a term of four years and then go a-fishing. He has strong friends and admirers and his enemies are equally strong.

In any study of Gifford Pinchot, it must be remembered that his political philosophy is unlike the average conception of the game. Discussing conditions at Harrisburg in the summer of 1925, and speculating on the probable entry of the Governor as a candidate for the United States Senate against Senator Pepper, I said:

"It ought to be apparent to Republicans of all degrees that the Pinchot mind is not exactly the mind of the average politician. A licking now and then is accepted for the most part on his side of the fence as a necessary stimulant to further endeavor. What concerns thoughtful Republicans most is not the entrance of the Governor into the field so much as a possible division of Republican strength that would invite Democratic invasion."

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

With the opening of the last regular session of the Legislature, the Governor was practically without an issue, but, as final adjournment came, he was able to inventory a sizable ammunition dump in the blunders of the lawmaking branch.

On this situation I once made the following comment:

“It must be evident to any thinking individual who understands the real values of movements and policies that at the opening of the session the Governor stood in need of a protecting barrel to conceal his political nakedness, but before the session was far advanced his party foes began an earnest and successful effort to provide the campaign clothing that he will doubtless wear in addition to the Texas campaign hat that drew applause at the Coolidge inauguration.”

For posterity there will be much of interest in comparative studies of the methods and policies of our Pennsylvania Governors. They have been widely different as to personality, temperament, views and comprehension of the collective mind of the people. Pinchot will have a niche all his own. He rarely sought the counsel of others. Advisors in his case were in a class with those who imagined themselves as of the inner circle in the Woodrow Wilson era. Gifford Pinchot had about him men he trusted, of course, but their opinions were all right only when they agreed with the conclusions of the Governor.

WILL HIS HAT BE IN THE RING?

Any real analysis of the work of the retiring Governor must wait the calm judgment of the day after. He is yet too close to the footlights, and defects of a minor character now may obscure the more worthwhile features of his service on Capitol Hill. He may soon determine to fare forth upon another quest, but should he conclude to seek a brief seclusion in his favorite fishing haunts, it may be set down as quite probable that his hat will be found again in the ring as a challenge to all comers. He is not at all likely to sit in his tent.

Governor Pinchot was rather clever in his letter to a

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Pittsburgh preacher on the Dempsey-Tunney prize fight at the Philadelphia Sesqui-Centennial. He met the issue without flinching, and argued that regulated boxing contests are no worse than football or other athletic performances. It must be admitted that the Governor brought to his support throughout his administration a large number of people who favor a less rigorous interpretation of what are regarded as moral issues. Much of cant and a good deal of hypocrisy comes to the surface in such situations and, more and more, those charged with responsibility for law enforcement are coming to the conclusion that there must be good sense exercised in all such matters.

JOHN S. FISHER AND THE CYCLONE

In acknowledging a little message of congratulation after the exciting primary election of 1926, former State Senator John S. Fisher, whose election as Governor was conceded from the hour the vote was counted and he was declared the successful nominee, wrote me as follows:

“It was a good deal of a cyclone that we came through. Necessarily there have been some troublesome problems left in the wake. However, I think things will clear up and I hope we may look forward to settled conditions. It has always been a practice with me to accept the results of elections with equanimity. There is always another day for a good loser.”

Mr. Fisher took a prominent part in the Legislature for years. Later he became the State Commissioner of Banking and also a member of the Constitutional Revision Commission. His qualifications for the gubernatorial office were regarded as outstanding in the matter of experience and temperament. He will do nothing hastily, as I size him up, nor will he fail to give full consideration to every important interest.

After the primary efforts were made to induce him to start a game of reprisal against those who had not supported him in the primary campaign. Those of us who

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have known him for years, however, could never have imagined Fisher indulging in such activities as would burden his administration with friction and recrimination. I shall be greatly surprised if he does not soon restore within the Republican party through example and precept the harmony necessary to guarantee future service for the people.

Four years ago Mr. Fisher was seriously considered as the Republican candidate for the office to which he has now been called, but he was disappointed with the wobbly attitude of certain influential party leaders, who were unable to say what they wanted respecting the candidate, or when they wanted it. This situation was not only embarrassing to Fisher, who had been assured of support in potential sectors, but also to Lieutenant Governor Edward E. Beidleman, whose friends were active in his behalf. So both withdrew and thus cleared the way for George E. Alter, a former Speaker of the House and Attorney General, but procrastination had done its work and Pinchot came home with the bacon. Clearly Alter did not hanker to be a candidate and he was drafted.

It was generally understood that a new cabinet place was to be created in the Pinchot administration for the former Commissioner of Banking, but, while quite circumstantial rumors were afloat regarding Fisher's probable identification with the Pinchot administration, nothing ever came of it. That there was no rupture of their friendly relationship, however, was evident when the next Governor called upon the retiring Governor soon after his nomination and compared notes as to the past and present.

In his speeches during the campaign Mr. Fisher indicated clearly his realization of the obligations resting upon a Governor and the problems which are certain to confront him at the outset of his administration. "Few appreciate the fact that the Governor of Pennsylvania is called upon to manage one of the greatest business and humanitarian organizations in the country," said he in

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a speech at Milton. He declared further that the business of administering the affairs of the Commonwealth is so diversified that it would require his undivided time and thought for solution of the complex and varied problems ahead. He also pointed out that the State's revenues now approximate \$100,000,000 annually and stated that he would devote his entire time and energy to the responsible task, keeping his mind clear of all entangling issues "by declining to seek any other office during my term." His tremendous majority of over 700,000 gave him a flying start.

FISHING—FOR WHAT?

It will not have been forgotten that on the successful termination of his candidacy for the gubernatorial office in 1922, Governor Pinchot stated that he would serve as Governor of Pennsylvania for four years and then go fishing. His opponents are now wondering whether he meant fishing for fish, or fishing for votes, as when he became a candidate for United States Senator, and some go so far as to declare he was likewise fishing for the White House.

Candidates must not be taken too seriously with respect to such statements. Theodore Roosevelt is said to have declared to an intimate friend that he was willing to lose his right hand could he take back the declaration—on his nomination for a full term after the death of President McKinley—that he would not seek another election as President. Those familiar with all that transpired about that time will easily bring to mind the story of how he illustrated a possible later candidacy by suggesting that he might take a second cup of coffee. Whatever the working of his mind, it is my conviction and the belief of many others that Roosevelt would not only have been nominated unanimously, but would have won another term in the White House, had he been living at the time Warren G. Harding was nominated at Chicago in 1920.

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It should be said to the credit of all these men that they served well their State in many difficult and trying situations. I don't recall a single one in my day who could be accused of disloyalty to the Commonwealth or any failure to appreciate the high and responsible duties which were his as head of the State administration. Of course, there were all sorts of political stories and the usual mean accusations, but these no longer strike me with any force whatsoever. In most cases they are sheer efforts on the part of political rivals to dispossess an opponent. Many a fine record in the public service of Pennsylvania, as I have observed the game, has been tarnished by the calumny of ambitious and undeserving men.



CHAPTER II

SENSATIONAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGN OF 1926

NOW that the shouting and tumult have ceased it is possible to approach a study of the primary campaign of 1926 in Pennsylvania with some degree of assurance that at least the essential details can be given a proper place in an extraordinary political cyclone. During the preceding months—the latter part of 1925 and the opening weeks of 1926—there was more or less shifting of the scenery in the hope of concentrating attention of the voters on the drama about to be presented, but it was almost the middle of April, 1926, when the various features of the campaign were sufficiently developed to attract anything like the general interest of the voters throughout the State.

DEMOCRATS HUNTING AN ISSUE

Of course, the United States Senate investigation of the large expenditures during this campaign centered country-wide interest in the developments. It was plainly evident from the start of Senator James Reed's probing activities at Washington that the Democrats especially were hunting an issue for the congressional election about to be staged throughout the country. Because of this manifest fishing for an issue—which was absent early in

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the year—there was less serious thought given the disclosures than would otherwise have been the case.

Also there had been evident on every side a tremendous effort to pull the Republican party into something like normal fighting shape. Following upon the deaths of Senators Quay and Penrose there was a palpable breakdown of the whole Republican structure in Pennsylvania, the party's stronghold. In this period there was loosed all the slumbering ambitions of a party overwhelming in its control of political interests so far as the State was concerned and to a large extent dominating the national counsels.

Having referred to the demoralization and disruption of the Republican organization after the passing of the Quay-Penrose regime, it is proper that I should add that it was not until the 1926 mix-up that the events long predicted by some of us in the active newspaper field began to unfold. Then all the suppressed ambition for party control which had been gathering force through several years burst like a Vesuvius, scattering the red-hot lava of bitter personalities and hate all over the hills and valleys of a great Commonwealth.

A NEW DAY DAWNS IN PENNSYLVANIA

This was inevitable from the hour Senator Boies Penrose died at Washington as the first day of 1923 dawned. No understudy was ready to take up the torch as it fell from his dead hand and almost immediately political intrigue and group maneuvering began to mark a new day in Pennsylvania's political life. No one was strong enough to indicate a line of action that would have majority approval and selfish ambitions were soon clashing in many sectors. Party leadership is a thing of slow growth, involving general recognition of personal fitness. Now and then a brilliant chap with special endowment and flair for leadership is catapulted into the place of command; but in most cases the accepted leader, or boss, if you please, must emerge from the mass. He first

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demonstrates certain qualities as a lowly precinct worker which impress his fellow workers in the party vineyard. These associates then push him gradually to the front—not too fast, but fast enough to test his capacity to develop party strength in the lesser units. As he grows and assumes the fighting place his fellows give him more and more of their confidence, until at last he becomes a full-fledged and skillful leader, having fairly earned his spurs.

When Matthew Stanley Quay, the Napoleonic generalissimo of a remarkable dynasty, surrendered to the last foe the command naturally fell to his trained successor, Boies Penrose, whose unusual qualities made him an ideal leader. He had watched clearly the developments of the first quarter of the twentieth century and the transfer of leadership produced not even a jolt in the organization. Quay's mantle fell naturally upon him.

But when the position of commanding officer was left vacant through the death of Senator Penrose there was no second in command to buckle on the sword of the fallen chieftain and take over general headquarters.

CONSTITUTING A COMMANDER

What has followed upon his passing again illustrates the fact that the pinning of a badge upon an individual without fundamental political training and designating him a leader—picking one from the top instead of an experienced fighter in the ranks who has proved his ability to lead—does not create a commander whose orders will have respect and enthusiastic response.

So we had the tremendous clash of potential Republican forces that awoke the echoes throughout Pennsylvania. It was an army of desperately fighting and struggling men who distrusted their officers. There was no central head to indicate the general plan of campaign and issue orders.

Months before the battle started a few Republican newspapers, among them the *Harrisburg Telegraph*, sensing the serious danger of a divided party and possi-

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ble defeat in the important gubernatorial and congressional elections, sounded repeated warnings of the threatened party disaster. Certain Democratic newspapers and groups also discerned for the minority party a prospect of winning the fight in the November election and cautioned care in choosing candidates for the higher offices to be filled. As has often happened in Pennsylvania, however, the Democrats had almost as many self-starting leaders as there were followers, and each insisted vociferously upon being the commander-in-chief. Upon the rock of personal ambition the party split, and at least three camps represented the scattered opponents of the main Republican army when the primary skirmish came on.

Such a demoralized force was in no condition to undertake a general defensive, and about all that could interest the several Democratic leaders after the primary contest was the salvaging of the party equipment for the presidential struggle of 1928. Manifestly the small group that took over the party machinery in the political campaign of 1912—each of the four acquiring most of the loaves and fishes for himself—will not figure to any extent in the next National Convention. Their style of politics does not appeal to the hewers of wood and drawers of water representing the body of the Democracy.

OUT OF THE SCRAMBLE

As for the Republican party, out of the rough-and-tumble scramble for place and power in this remarkable primary battle will doubtless emerge something definite in the shape of party control and leadership. After the passing of Penrose, party direction became a more or less chaotic thing, unbalanced and uncertain, but, building upon results of the late primary contest, somewhat divided as to factions, the formation of a party control will more naturally come about, especially after the smoke shall have drifted away.

Personal characteristics of the three men who were candidates in the primary for United States Senator in

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1926 are so different that the incidents of the canvass may be colored somewhat by this fact. Governor Pinchot is characteristically energetic and controversial. Senator Pepper is more temperamental than many of his friends realized, but he conducted throughout a dignified campaign. Congressman Vare has the family tradition of statesmanship to maintain and he never once lost sight of that fact. He seldom permitted himself to be drawn into any public statement that might affect his theory of what a statesman should do on the stump or in the halls of legislation.

Governor Pinchot's try for the Senate against Boies Penrose several years earlier was not regarded seriously by practical politicians, but what these overlooked was the Pike County Forester's utter indifference to the thing that most persons running for public office find difficult to accept—personal defeat. A real study of Pinchot must convince any investigator of this unusual personal attitude when confronted with rejection and overthrow of his ambitions.

On the Governor's first entry into the Pennsylvania political arena he was little known, and yet he pursued a sort of animated soap-box campaign all over the State. Wherever two or three were gathered together on a street corner, or elsewhere, the distinguished woodsman whacked away manfully upon the Republican party tree, the chips flying in every direction. Whether applause or scorn was his portion in those political incursions did not seem to matter. It was his plan to blaze a trail which could be followed later at his convenience. Those who know aught of woodcraft will not have forgotten that the bending of a twig, the turning of a leaf, or a chip from the bark of a tree clearly points the way.

It was so with Pinchot, the Forester, in his first hunt for the "Big Grizzly," a nickname given by many of his friends to Senator Penrose. Pinchot had no serious thought of winning in that first hunt, perhaps, but he

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was tramping over ground that was later to become as familiar as his own pines at "Gray Gables" in the Pike County hunting region. He was learning the lay of the land. He didn't capture the seat of Senator Penrose on that particular hunt, but the keen desire to scour again the same territory was ever present.

Then Governor Sproul called him to the important office of Commissioner of Forestry, and that was the next step, as Gifford Pinchot believed, in his progress toward Washington. But there was to be a detour. In 1922 the main political highway of the premier Republican State was clogged with ambitious rivalries and along the road were many factional chuckholes.

GIFFORD PINCHOT'S INDEFINITE PLATFORM

Seeing the need of some improvement in the Pennsylvania political preserves, the Forester offered his services as a candidate for Governor in order, as he frequently declared, that he might "clean up the mess." He rang the changes so persistently on this "mess" slogan that in a short time the people began to sit up and take notice. Here was a man, they concluded, who was really aching for a job of financial sanitation on Capitol Hill, and, while cleaning up the mess was a somewhat indefinite platform, his promise of a sensational effort so influenced the body politic that Pinchot, the Forester, defeated for the nomination George E. Alter, the former Speaker of the House and a big man after the order of Abraham Lincoln. Alter was the choice of the regular Republican organization and it didn't seem possible that he could be defeated. But so it turned out.

Followed four years of cleaning up the mess, transposing a big deficit into a big surplus—which other high officials to this day declare a camouflage. But the goal of the Gifford Pinchot household, including his brilliant wife, Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, was still to be attained. There was back of it all the longing for Washington, where the happy hunting grounds had been protected by

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Theodore Roosevelt, the mightiest hunter of them all, and where the knives were sharpened and the guns inspected on the back porch of the White House. Harrisburg was good enough for a few years of forestry and cleaning up the mess, but it wasn't sufficiently roomy for the Pike County hunter. All well enough for a while, but along the Potomac was better shooting, and fishing in the Senate pool was more to the Forester's liking. They run larger there than in the Susquehanna River.

So a large two-gallon hat, presented to the Governor by a former Governor of Texas, was shied into the ring. He declared that having cleaned up the mess in Harrisburg—a statement which his critics still call upon him to prove—he could give the dear people a squarer deal in the United States Senate than his old friend, George Wharton Pepper. Not that he actually loved George less, but he loved his Senatorial toga more.

Thus it fell out that toward the middle of the first quarter of 1926 all doubt as to his intentions was removed by Governor Pinchot when he announced his purpose to go after the Pepper seat. Meanwhile his headquarters, established in Philadelphia, with branches elsewhere, began a vigorous campaign. It proved a sort of lone-wolf race with no combinations, but with frequent endorsements of this and that organization pledged to overthrow the Demon Rum and all his associates. Also, the anthracite and other coal miners and various labor bodies and brotherhoods came out on the Governor's side. Thus, too, the wet and dry issue became more defined and the Forester rounded up sufficient fighters to make him a formidable contender.

He showed that he knew the political game, and it was demonstrated before many weeks that he might conceivably get Senator Pepper's scalp, but without decorating his own belt with the scalp-lock. And all because, as the time drew near for the final filing of petitions of candidates for the Senatorial race, a third entry appeared in the running, Congressman William S. Vare, one of

three brothers, who, with the widow of one of them, had represented Philadelphia in part at different times in the State Senate. It was now a triangular fight, Senator Pepper having long before announced his candidacy.

Without stopping to consider the political ethics involved and all the complex circumstances at the instant, it will suffice here to point out that Senator Pepper was, under all the rules of the game, entitled to another term. Barring the injection of the Pinchot candidacy, he would have been nominated, but when Vare dragged in as his platform the modification of the Volstead law, with a view to providing light wines and beer, the race became anybody's, and it continued in this uncertain state until the primary election of May 18, 1926. No such guessing as to the possible results was ever before known. All ordinary signs failed, and practical politicians and expert interpreters privately admitted that they didn't know what was going to happen.

This theory of the situation was confirmed when the returns began to filter through in a laggard way after the primary fight. Even to this hour there is a question whether any expert in election figures can successfully demonstrate just what brought about the peculiar results of the 1926 elimination contest.

Senator Pepper was confidently expected to gather sufficient strength over the State to assure his renomination, but as the canvass proceeded so many angles appeared that the several managers at headquarters of the three contenders were constantly up a tree. For a time Senator Pepper refused to be drawn into any declaration on the wet and dry issue as it had been interjected into the situation by Governor Pinchot and Congressman Vare. He believed that it was not a question that should confuse the real issues involved in a fight for the United States Senate. But the pressure upon him later became so strenuous that he was led into a general statement in favor of the retention of the prohibition law, albeit he had indicated somewhere that a representative of the

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people in the United States Senate should be guided in his action not by what he personally thought of any question, but by what the people thought, once their will was clearly made known. This was taken to mean that, should there be shown through a referendum a desire to revise the prohibition law on a more liberal basis, he would favor such provision.

"DEAR GEORGE" AND "DEAR GIFFORD"

Meanwhile Governor Pinchot was writing frequently to Senator Pepper and the various letters of this interesting correspondence began "Dear George" and "Dear Gifford." But toward the end of the campaign the salutations became decidedly more formal and less friendly. And various dry organizations and clergymen and others were calling upon Governor Pinchot to retire from the race in the interest of the dry cause; others thought Senator Pepper should eliminate himself. This was the view of Governor Pinchot, his theory being that his own retirement from the triangular race could result only in the almost certain nomination of Congressman Vare. There were few who agreed with him on this theory, but he insisted that his withdrawal would still further complicate the situation and make Congressman Vare's fight easier.

Congressman Vare at this time was giving close and intensive supervision to his big political machine in Philadelphia and also reached out to Pittsburgh for help in that part of the State. His report on campaign expenses after the fight and under the Corrupt Practices Act showed that he was fighting to win. It will also be remembered that through the State there were those who, under ordinary conditions would not have given Mr. Vare any support whatever, but on the liquor question were liberal and voted for him as a means of recording a protest against the rigid Volstead law.

In the case of Pepper and Pinchot, both had support here and there of experienced politicians, but neither had at his command the trained regulars of the Philadelphia

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leader. Of course, this fact was realized to some extent, but after the fighting, and when the smoke had rolled away, it became evident that there had been many and serious blunders in the camps of both Pinchot and Pepper. Throughout the campaign Vare maintained a silence that was quite portentous. Though he made few speeches he managed to get into touch with some of the more clever and practical politicians all over the State. These were in sympathy with his wet platform, and in this way his strength was augmented.

A MINORITY VICTOR

But, notwithstanding all these signs and symptoms, the fact remains that Senator Pepper was largely the choice of the Republican party. This is shown by the fact that he carried most of the counties of the State. What defeated him was the subtraction of the Pinchot dry strength and the effective Vare machine in Philadelphia. Also, Senator Pepper suffered some loss because he had indicated John S. Fisher, who won the Republican nomination for Governor, as his running mate. This estranged quite a number of supporters here and there who felt that his declaration in favor of Fisher was justification for their support of Vare or Pinchot for United States Senator.

Many of these were friends of former Lieutenant Governor Beidleman, who for a time after the 1926 primary was thought to have been nominated for Governor by fifty thousand plurality, but on the late official returns was compelled to haul down his flag to Fisher, the successful aspirant, who had been a candidate in 1922, but had withdrawn in favor of Pinchot.

Vare and Beidleman became closely affiliated in their campaign toward the end. It was held by the Harrisburg candidate that he was forced into a combination arrangement by the action of the Mellon group in putting out a slate that included one of his competitors for Governor. Beidleman had a remarkable list of endorsements of

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labor, railroad and other organizations and seemed to be headed for victory. After the primary it was freely charged that he had been counted out, but no serious steps were taken to establish this charge.

SUCCESS OF LEWIS AS AN ORGANIZER

Throughout the gubernatorial skirmish there was one pillar of strength in the Fisher campaign rather quiet, but nevertheless effective to a remarkable degree. I refer to Samuel S. Lewis, the State Treasurer, long a personal friend of Fisher and skillful in efficient campaign methods. In the formulation of plans for what was known as the Mellon ticket, including Pepper and Fisher, the central counties were assigned to the State Treasurer for intensive organization effort. All but two of the counties on the Lewis list were carried for Fisher, including York, the home sector of the assistant field marshal.

Much is believed to depend upon the 1926 primary results in the way of future political developments, but the horoscope clearly indicates a likely swing of State administration favor and other political influence to the present State Treasurer as an available and logical successor to Governor Fisher four years hence.

It is an outstanding feature of the political philosophy of Lewis that sharp practice gets a man nowhere. He has frequently observed in our discussion of public events that too many politicians trip themselves in their scheming efforts to trip others. It is his judgment that one who believes in political organization and fair play must observe all the rules of the game and not attempt at any time to get the best of an opponent by behind-the-screen performances. Courageous in the working out of political programs in which he has been interested, the State Treasurer does not bother much about what may happen to him personally, so long as the legitimate features of the campaign are properly developed as the contest goes on. I am inclined to believe that in this

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philosophical attitude the custodian of the Commonwealth's funds is absolutely right. Cunning schemes to upset either a personal rival or a factional group as a rule prove their own undoing. Voters are not disposed to help along this sort of thing.

Having done much for the nomination of the successful Republican candidate, the York County leader is making no premature gestures. He is a natural executive, as has been demonstrated by a remarkable record, first as Auditor General and then as State Treasurer. It is a reasonable surmise that he would find the stairway to the Governor's office in January, 1931, a comfortable and easy ascent in his future public service.

In the 1926 battle for party leadership the practical starting point was the acceptance by many county organizations of those who had established their right to command by giving all but a few counties to Fisher. Mass play often follows successful star performances by individuals in the political game.

HE WANTED TO BE SENATOR

As to why Vare entered the race for the Senatorship, there is only one answer. He wanted to be a Senator and with the Senators stand. Many of his most trusted friends had advised against running, but he declined to heed their urging. It was with him now or never. After the nomination much talk was heard of Republicans cutting the scheduled nominee, but among thoughtful persons it was generally concluded that the great importance of keeping the Republican strength intact in the United States Senate would prevent many from striking Vare in the November balloting. But he was cut, nevertheless, thousands of votes.

There was also all manner of speculation as to how Governor Pinchot would accept his defeat. It was not until the late summer that he made a public statement to the effect that he would not resume the contest for the United States Senate against Vare and the Demo-

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cratic candidate, William B. Wilson. But up to the last moment he postponed withdrawal of his name as a candidate of the Labor party for the Senate, thus keeping the politicians of all parties on edge. Manifestly he concluded that a campaign after his defeat in the May primary would be a hopeless and humiliating struggle. It was believed, however, that even with almost certain and inglorious defeat ahead, the Governor might determine to remain in the fight in order to give the voters a preference as between Vare and Wilson. His friends gave him no encouragement, and finally came the formal statement. He wouldn't be a candidate on the Labor ticket, he declared, but he would always back labor in its fight for fair treatment. But he would not support Vare. He would, however, vote for a majority of the Republican candidates, but was silent on Wilson. All of this evoked comment of various kinds. Some argued that Pinchot was throwing an anchor to the windward for a later voyage; that he wanted to retain something in the way of party regularity, and therefore would give Wilson no active support. Further, that he might cast his hat into the ring in 1928. On this point regular Republicans were outspoken. They declared any candidate who entered a primary and then openly refused to support the nominee who happened not to be himself, was not deserving of future consideration. But the Governor reminded his Republican critics that, leading Republicans having repudiated and denounced Vare in the primary campaign, including Senators Pepper and Reed and Mr. Fisher with others, there was no reason why he should aid Vare in the general election. Ethics had little to do with the case. There were ambitions to serve, and the devil take the hindmost appeared to be the attitude.

Governor Pinchot's statement elicited from Vare the comment that he had nothing to say; that the people had already spoken in the primary election. In any red-hot political campaign there must always be a loser or two, but I have never found that the failure to accept the

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result inures to the benefit of the loser. Governor Pinchot entered the Republican primary and sought the support of Republican voters in his ambition to be a United States Senator. Whatever he may have thought of Congressman Vare, it is the opinion of party men generally that he should at least have avoided appearance of opposition. Others might refuse to support Vare, inasmuch as they were not in competition with him, but the Governor entered the primary as a regular candidate, and when he failed of nomination it was reasonable to suppose, according to his critics, that he would support the nominee. Certainly had he been nominated he would have had a right to expect the help of Congressman Vare and the large Republican organization in the Philadelphia sector.

INSISTING ON PERSONAL LOYALTY

It is charged, and not denied, that the Governor required appointees to sign a pledge which they would observe in their personal conduct as to every last provision of the prohibition laws; also it was stated that applicants for subordinate positions were first interrogated as to how they had voted in the 1926 primary. Not having supported Mr. Pinchot, they were understood to have been given no further consideration. It was declared on the side of the Governor, however, that, while he may have insisted on personal loyalty, he never apologized for doing so. He felt that he was responsible to the people for his administration, and, unless those about him were loyal, he could hardly expect efficient conduct of public business. Also, he was commended for not compelling State employes to give to campaign funds.

In the heat of the 1926 primary campaign a strong protest was heard against the apparent arbitrary compulsion of party action by great financial interests as represented by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, his nephew, and others. This was regarded as a menace to the freedom of party self-determination by the voters. But this sort of protest was no more justified than in any

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previous campaign where powerful interests concentrated upon a slate of their own making in the way of candidates. Where party leadership is the prize ordinary rules are suspended often and it becomes a free-for-all.

GRUNDY AND FISHER

Following the primary election with all its sensational features, there was much speculation as to what would be the attitude later of Joseph R. Grundy and John S. Fisher, the successful nominee for Governor, toward each other. Here and there it was believed Mr. Grundy, as the most important pillar of the Fisher campaign, would naturally receive gubernatorial favor in legislative measures to the end that he might properly control the forces which he believes are for the promotion of the best interests of the business activities of Pennsylvania. His intense concern for the maintenance of a proper relation between the State government and the important business structure is believed to have been the real purpose of his strenuous effort to nominate Fisher.

It is pointed out as a frequent sequel of a purely political alliance that a powerful factor in a campaign for the election of an important public official often is turned down largely because the successful nominee feels it incumbent upon himself to demonstrate personal independence by utter refusal of anything smacking of control, to the end that critics may at once understand that he—the successful contender—is his own dictator and no other.

Thus, in theory, the Fisher administration, for example, would recognize no Grundy influence not in line with the preconceived notions of its head. This was an undercurrent of speculation in political and business circles following the primary contest and throughout the general campaign, the election of Fisher to the office of Governor after the primary being a foregone conclusion, owing to the hopeless factionalism of the Democratic party and the decreasing minority vote, in addition to the declared

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purpose of many substantial Democrats to vote for Fisher for business reasons.

As for the friends of Mr. Grundy in this speculative state of the public mind, they positively refused to accept such a conclusion concerning Mr. Fisher's possible attitude toward one who had been his powerful and steadfast backer for the gubernatorial office when others equally powerful were disposed to sidestep or actually oppose the Fisher selection. These loyal supporters contend that the Grundy-Fisher alliance had been of long standing and that no conceivable circumstances could develop to cause a rift in their personal relations; that no mischief-makers would be successful in breaking the David and Jonathan friendship which had existed between them. It was certain in their judgment that Mr. Grundy would maintain a perfectly impeccable attitude toward the Governor of his choice, doing nothing to embarrass him or his administration and expecting only such reasonable consideration as might be accorded any honest supporter—urging little for himself, but clear and definite policies as to the vital business interests of the Commonwealth, even these to be regarded in the light of the public welfare rather than the so-called good of the Republican party.

FISHER AND GRUNDY IN THE ADMINISTRATION

It should always be kept in mind that Mr. Grundy, and Mr. Fisher as well, have over a long period of years been in close contact with important transportation and industrial activities of Pennsylvania. It is on the basis of their mutual understanding of what constitutes the proper relation between business and government that these men were expected to proceed through the next four years. It is my conviction that instead of friction Grundy and Fisher will match minds in such a way as to avoid differences that might lead to rupture of their long-time appreciation of each other.

Governor Fisher is not a tyro in official life, and his legislative and administrative experience on Capitol Hill

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will keep him away from many pitfalls that an amateur might easily tumble into because of lack of knowledge. For this reason he will not be disposed to throw out his chest and turn away from his old friend Grundy, nor will the latter risk any disturbance of the amicable relationship which has been cemented through a terrific but triumphant struggle. One will help the other, of course, but not to the extent that either shall feel embarrassed in the public eye.

Fisher and Grundy are not unlike in several particulars and it will prove interesting to watch the processes of State administration as these develop the traits and predilections of these men. Both, as I read them, are rather set in their ways. One is no more rapid-fire in his judgment than the other. Each is more or less self-willed—not to the point of being unapproachable, but resolved in his own opinion, and requiring considerable argument to induce any change of front. Both are cautious in reaching conclusions, and mere personal considerations frequently count for little. They keep their ears to the ground, but Fisher is less defective in hearing the murmur of terrestrial outgivings than Grundy. Perhaps I should say the *Fidus Achates* of the Governor-elect cares less about the underground tremors of so-called public sentiment. Certainly, he is not particularly disturbed concerning what his enemies say about him. He persistently turns a deaf ear to their objurgations and devotes no time whatever to pleasing them. With his friends he is regarded as always loyal, but even these are not permitted to interfere with any settled plan of action that might affect a definite program of what he believes is a service to the people. In short, Fisher and Grundy are alike, but different. They will reach the same goal, but not always over the same road.

SENATOR PEPPER'S SERVICE

Senator Pepper's rather brief service in the United States Senate began with his appointment by Governor Sproul to fill a vacancy caused by the death of William

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E. Crow, who had been for several years chairman of the Republican State Committee and whose health was so precarious at the time of appointment that he could do little more than take the oath and endeavor to prolong his life by strict observance of his physician's orders. So generally acceptable was the service of Senator Pepper that no question was raised concerning his continuance in the most deliberative parliamentary body in all the world and with the consent of men of all parties. He had early demonstrated his fitness to represent a great State and the press in all parts of the country paid high tribute to the outstanding qualities of statesmanship which were manifest almost from the hour of his entrance into the Senate.

Of course, he was not a politician. In some respects he seemed lacking even in the rudimentary requisites of the political game. Several times, as he essayed to meet the somewhat rough-and-tumble tactics of his competitors in the exciting race for the Washington sweepstakes, he appeared to some of his sincere friends and admirers to have assumed a part entirely foreign to his dignified, scholarly and cultured self. To be sure, he was hectored in speeches and statements and it is no wonder that on occasion he lost his temper. One day, during the session of the Constitutional Revision Commission, when fairly beside himself, he replied to some remarks by another member on a proposal then under discussion. This provoked such wrath in him as seemed out of all proportion to the thing which invited the tempest. He was always so deferential and courteous and parliamentary in his exchanges with his colleagues of the Commission that all were amazed, especially when he stamped the floor in the violence of his rejoinder. I remember walking down Capitol Hill on adjournment that day with the man who was the object of the Senator's retort, and he could not account for the loss of control of one so greatly liked for his pleasing personality and courteous treatment of all with whom he came in contact. We both concluded,

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after discussing the incident, that the man who was later to become one of Pennsylvania's Senators, had been under a great strain in some big legal proceeding, and that the entirely unexpected speech was the result.

So Senator Pepper, well-balanced, able, meticulous in the choice of language, and the very personification of courtesy in debate, as well as in all his public utterances, happened, in the bitter contest which resulted in a denial of his party's endorsement for a full term in the Senate, to fall into the error of assuming a role entirely distasteful to himself—as I believed at the time and still believe—by following unwise counsel.

A TACTICAL BLUNDER

Nor has it been forgotten that Senator Pepper, with an apparent desire to show all Pennsylvania that he was not afraid to beard the lion of the Philadelphia jungle in his den, months before had declared in favor of a Pinchot appointee for judge in that city, who was offensive to Congressman Vare. Among politicians and newspaper men this entirely unnecessary statement on the eve of his own candidacy was of a piece with the tactical mistake, perhaps, of aligning himself with one candidate for Governor in a field of several aspirants for that office. In the judgment of many of his supporters, this was a break in strategy and without justification.

As a consequence of the Senator's declaration in favor of Mr. Fisher, the friends of Mr. Beidleman in many instances turned in resentment to Pinchot or Vare. This announced preference for Fisher also increased the difficulties which beset W. Harry Baker, chairman of the State Committee. He had thrown into the discard all reserve in an effort to nominate his life-long friend, the former Lieutenant Governor, but nevertheless determined to aid Senator Pepper in an appeal to the working district and county units of the Republican organization. Pressure was put on as the fight became warmer to compel a further show-down on the part of Chairman Baker by an open and unequivocal declaration for Senator

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Pepper. But, as the lines were still more closely drawn, it became apparent to the Beidleman forces that an open break with Congressman Vare and his formidable Philadelphia organization in the Senatorial contest would surely defeat the Harrisburg man's nomination for Governor.

THE CLIMAX OF THE FIGHT

It was a crucial hour in a campaign already fairly bulging with combustible situations and complexities. While one group was making faces at another group no worse and no better from the standpoint of political ethics, the fighting reached its climax, but in the confusion of battle and with the ammunition dumps exhausted, the guns ditched, and all manner of conflicting orders going out for offensives and counter-offensives, creating panic in every sector, the State held its breath for two or three days while the couriers were slowly making their way back from the front with a list of the casualties.

For forty-eight hours or more the sanguinary tale was told in sundry keys; first one had been nominated and then another. But when the counting boards finally consented to let the voters have an inkling of what had actually happened, it was found that Senator Pepper had fallen with Pinchot and that Vare was to wear the Senatorial toga, largely through the heavy support of Philadelphia and Dauphin Counties, the remainder of the field being held by "Dear George" and "Dear Gifford."

Senator Pepper, like former President Taft, after his overwhelming defeat, increased in the respect and favor of a host of admirers by taking his medicine bravely, a bitter and unnecessary dose, when he said: "I was licked—not defeated. Defeat is a matter of the spirit; it implies that the will-power is broken, that one has not the courage to go on. I can go back to practice of the law with a deeper insight into human nature, individuals and masses, than I could have gained in any other way." It was a manly statement and worthy the man.

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But experienced political dopesters still wonder how it all came about. There had never before been such an assault upon the rights of free men. Full panoplied, Senator Pepper had ridden into the thick of the carnage with John S. Fisher, candidate of a formidable group for Governor, at his side, both quite dry; but when the revised list of casualties was at last reported Pepper was found to have fallen on the field with Pinchot, while Vare, wet to the skin, came back without a scratch, riding cheerfully in advance—not with Beidleman, his associate, but alongside of Fisher, still dry and not a whit worse for his terrific experiences. “One shall be taken and the other left.” It has ever been so and thus it will continue to the end of time.

What had happened after all speculation ceased as to the cause was in reality nothing more than a tremendous party explosion, originating in an inevitable upheaval over Republican leadership or lack of leadership. Rumbblings had been heard since the death of Matthew Stanley Quay and later when his successor, Boies Penrose, passed on, but like all who live on the hillside of an occasionally active volcano the voters were not prepared for and pooh-poohed a possible eruption. That the big fracas was essentially and obviously a fight for party control was manifest even before the official election figures had been computed.

SEEKING PARTY PLACE

What will develop through the apparently divided results cannot be foreseen, but I may venture the prediction that out of the fight will emerge eventually a leadership that will be recognized by the great body of the Republican voters—not at once, perhaps, but through the submerging of some ambitions and the promotion actively of others. This will cause some heartburning here and there, the loss of public positions in many cases, and the setting up in the end of a new party dynasty to replace that which gradually passed into history with the

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death of Senators Quay and Penrose, both past masters and experts in the art and science of politics.

At once newspaper editors throughout the State began belaboring the direct primary as a delusion and a snare. There was so little in the way of extravagant expenditure that could not be applied to each of the several contenders that no candidate had sufficient nerve to accuse another of questionable practices. For instance, one paper said: "When Gifford Pinchot spends \$200,000 to garner 340,000 votes, reformer or not, his action is contrary to sound public policy. When Congressman Vare pours his funds in to swell the golden flood he is neither more nor less to blame than his enemies and opponents." So it went all over the State. It was clearly indicated at the post campaign meeting of the State Committee that the Republican women did not look with favor upon a continuance of factional strife over the question of campaign funds or anything else. They felt that the fight was now over and all should get together for the common welfare of the party.

Political dynasties are not created by decrees or founded on cash alone. These are the direct result of inheritance of political power or the grind and attrition of ambitious groups out of which rises after a time some brave spirit qualified to issue orders and enforce them.

THE PROBE BY THE UNITED STATES SENATE

In the sensational probing of the primary expenses in Pennsylvania by the United States Senate, under the Corrupt Practices Act, expenditures approaching several millions of dollars were disclosed. An interesting observation was made at the investigation by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, to the effect that there was nothing unusual in view of the wide expanse of Pennsylvania and its large and varied population. He voiced what was in the thought of many others that, under the uniform primary law, great expenditures are necessarily incurred in educating the voter respecting the issues involved.

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This was not the case under the old delegate or convention system, and because of these expenditures it is almost inevitable a change of the system to something like the old plan will be attempted. One thing seems certain as a result of the investigation—men of modest means will practically be forced out of state-wide campaigns. Even now it is doubtful whether the average voter understands why there should be so much money expended. He doesn't realize the legitimate expense entailed in sending, for instance, thousands of letters and circulars and cards and all that sort of thing through the mails, nor does he grasp the cost of employing political workers to get out the vote, propagandize the qualifications of candidates, hold meetings, organize parades and pay the heavy expense of publicity—on billboards, in newspapers and otherwise. Two or three million dollars seems like a colossal sum for a primary fight, but even a member of the Legislature knows what it costs to become a law-maker. He must contribute to campaign funds, advertise his qualifications and press his claims, must bear all manner of expense of workers and committees, and this in a single county. Multiply what it costs him by sixty-seven and add the tremendous overhead of a general campaign and three millions of dollars does not bulk so large in the computation. Former Governor Sproul declared the ratio of voting population made a great difference.

GRUNDY AS A FAT-FRIER

As the probing of the United States Senate Committee on primary expenditures for Pennsylvania drew to an end, it became more and more apparent that no such extravagant use of money in any election had ever before been disclosed. Senator Newberry was forced out of the Senate for an expenditure that was a mere trifle as compared with ten or fifteen times the amount that caused his unseating in the United States Senate. It was also declared as the investigation proceeded that the whole purpose of this enormous and expensive hunt for votes

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was an ambition to control the political situation in Pennsylvania.

After hearing the testimony of the several leading candidates on the Republican side, the total expended reached approximately \$3,000,000, without counting the funds that passed through hands of the several campaign committees. It was demonstrated that there had been spent over a million dollars in the disappointing failure to nominate Senator Pepper. One of the rather sensational statements was admission by Joseph R. Grundy, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, that he had advanced on notes of himself and one other person over \$300,000. He told the committee it was his hope to get this sum back through the assistance of those in sympathy with his efforts to make Pennsylvania solid for the policies of Coolidge and Mellon.

It is no secret that for many years Mr. Grundy has been the fat-frier of the Republican forces in Pennsylvania, but no one has ever accused him of corrupt or criminal practices. He has always openly stated that he believed money properly expended in a political campaign is justifiable. He likewise declared at Washington that in his judgment it was essential to keep Secretary of the Treasury Mellon "in the saddle," as well as support President Coolidge in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Grundy explained that the manufacturers of Pennsylvania are not selfish in their attitude, but believe every effort should be put forth to place in positions of influence and power men in sympathy with sane and safe governmental and business policies. He indicated, when pressed for an answer as to how he hoped to be reimbursed for his large personal advances, that there was a group which had come to the rescue in the past, and he was confident that they would not fail him now.

ISSUES, NOT CANDIDATES

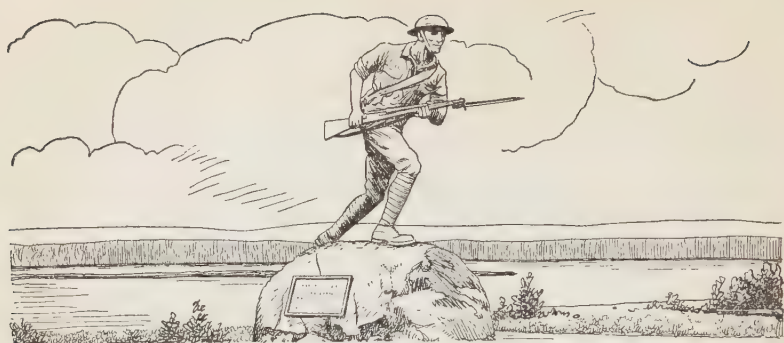
Mr. Grundy when pressed by Senator Reed, chairman of the committee, volunteered the opinion as to the justi-

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fication for such large expenditures when the aggregate salaries of the offices to be filled do not amount to more than \$25,000 a year, that the salaries had nothing to do with it; that "we always talk of issues"; that candidates are by way of accessories after the fact. In conclusion Mr. Grundy emphasized that the question of state taxation was what influenced him and gave a review of the taxation history of Pennsylvania. He expressed the belief that, had former Lieutenant Governor Beidleman been elected, he would have favored a State tax on manufacturing; also, he believed Beidleman would have advocated repeal of the tax on anthracite coal, which represented \$25,000,000. In this case the loss of revenue to the Commonwealth would probably have been made up by a tax on the manufacturing industry.

All through the testimony before the Reed probers the question which was constantly coming to the surface and which dominated the whole campaign was control of the Republican organization with a view to preventing onslaughts upon the important industrial interests of the State.

This word only in closing the chapter. In the United States Senate, one day in 1926, an eloquent member put into words a sentiment which fairly well described the feeling of Republicans in Pennsylvania after the primary of 1926. He said: "The virtues of defeat are patience and fortitude, and the virtues of victory are magnanimity, forbearance, and restraint."



CHAPTER III

BOSS RULE AND UNIFORM PRIMARY SYSTEM

UNLESS all signs fail a big fight looms ahead on the direct primary system as opposed to the old convention plan of nominations. All over the country there are evidences of revolt, but on every hand champions of the direct primary are standing up to be counted.

CONSENT TO AN EXPERIMENTAL CHANGE

Only after long and bitter discussion in political and reform circles did the leaders of the majority party finally assent to the experimental change from the long-time convention plan to the uniform or direct primary system of nominations. For the most part, politicians were not disposed to favor the new scheme; they opposed it with might and main, not only in the counsels of the party but in open conventions and other political forums. It was not purely a Republican surrender; many of the strong Democratic leaders throughout the State believed such an innovation would be detrimental to the minority party especially and might lead to political revolution. When a Democratic conference was held to adopt a declaration of principles, the most important Democratic newspaper of Pennsylvania declared that nobody present, with the probable exception of the writer

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of the article, understood what it was all about. At this conference all motions looking to endorsement of particular candidates were voted down as having the aspect of slate-making.

"It is true," said the *Philadelphia Record*, speaking of this conference, "that the uniform primary act promotes in the Democratic party the same discords that at present rend the majority party. Democrats, however, should not forget that the law of which their representatives complain is the wedge which has made it possible for the rival factions to split the opposition and has given the Democracy the opportunity in which it rejoices." In short, this observant and able newspaper seizes upon the more or less slipshod results of the uniform primary to further demoralize the natural political enemy. Politicians may always be trusted to counteract the effects of any electoral change that would impair the integrity and vital fighting qualities of an organization. I cannot conceive of any legislation which will serve in any period or in any party to bring about such reform as might be of real value to the citizens who are not interested in politics as a game.

ONE ROUGH-AND-TUMBLE CONVENTION

The game of politics has been played in many strenuous conventions. One of these was in the old Randall regime of the Democratic party, when the fighting Democrats came to Harrisburg and entertained the crowds by shooting at one another across Third Street, near the old Opera House on the site of the Penn-Harris Hotel. The convention closed with no more serious casualties than broken noses and blackened eyes. Old-time Democrats still refer to that episode as a glorious and vociferous meeting of the clans. I remember well other big shindies also wherein the fist was a potent weapon.

Instead of mass meetings, debates on party principles and the acclaim of favorite party leaders, we have now the radio and broadcasting stations. But these do not

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stimulate the voter or arouse his combative interest as was the case in the famous convention days.

People do not change much, and, while election laws may be mangled and revised to suit the whims of those who imagine the voters can be transformed by legislation, the results are practically the same after the fanfare and tumult have ceased. Newspaper statements by candidates and assaults upon their opponents do not appeal to the average voter. Essentially he favors fair play and the ambitious candidate who imagines he can win votes by traducing his competitor in the race generally finds that this effort has been wasted and his following seriously reduced by such tactics.

NO REAL PROGRESS IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

Always the reformer in any field of activity assumes that he can accomplish his purpose by having the Legislature pass a law. There has been so much of this during recent years that even the most intelligent voters find themselves embarrassed in attempting to perform the duties of citizenship. This is particularly true of the make-up of the ballot. Ballot revision has been the open sport of a certain kind of reformer for many years. Whether the proposal be the short ballot or proportional representation or something else, the voter is bound to resent the constant changes. Many of these have no merit at all, and only serve to confuse the minds of many who should find the exercise of the franchise a simple, practical and honest performance of a patriotic duty. From the time of the vest-pocket ticket, when the precinct worker dropped a handful of tickets into the pocket of an opposition worker and thus secured unconscious assistance for the candidates whom the joker favored, down to the blanket ballot which provides an opportunity for the study of eccentricities of the political mind, there has been no real progress in the great American system of self-government.

Discussing the uniform primary with thoughtful and practical men who have given political processes serious

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study, I find that, almost without exception, they favor return to the convention system as the best method of securing a satisfactory expression of public opinion. Of course, any suggestion to repeal the uniform primary act would invoke a blast of protest in those quarters where today there is no intelligent appreciation of the defects of nominating satisfactory candidates under the so-called reform system.

Opposition to the direct primary has been increasing during recent years. A change from the convention to direct nomination of candidates for years was put forward as the most important of many panaceas proposed by political reformers to overcome what these critics of the old order decried as arbitrary boss control.

TO SERVE "THE DEAR PEOPLE"

For a long time efforts of political reformers to introduce the direct primary plan failed of success, but, as it was constantly urged upon the voters, Senator Boies Penrose and others in responsible relation to the Republican party at last surrendered, and the election procedure was changed to provide an open season once a year for all who sought to serve "the dear people." It was not long, however, until the very groups who urged the change began to realize that no law can long prevent political leaders from accomplishing their own purposes in the control or management of party affairs. Even Senator Penrose admitted to me on one occasion that he believed the uniform primary made his job as a party leader somewhat easier, relieving him of direct responsibility and subjecting him to no criticism when the organization under his guidance put over the nominees of its choice.

Of course, the so-called political reformers imagined they were having a real opportunity to declare their wishes with respect to nominations, but as it turned out the regular party organization selections were generally found to be on top when the votes were counted. Indeed, I have never believed an unorganized body of the most

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zealous reformers was ever equal to the organized regulars of any political party.

But aside from the interest of the party leaders, there is another phase of the uniform primary which must impress all who have given any thought to the nomination of candidates under the direct vote system. Even in the most recent campaign Democratic leaders and aspirants for office protested against the uniform primary system. John F. Short, in his *Clearfield Republican*, declared out of his long experience as a Democratic editor that the "return to the old-time convention method of nominating candidates for State, city, county and borough offices will come sooner or later. Under the present system only men or women with large financial backing—their own and their friends or "Big Business"—can aspire to important State offices. Getting a candidate's name before the people for State nomination by either majority party means the expenditure of thousands of dollars. Only the rich or near-rich can entertain laudable ambition in the direction of office holding and serving the people as they should be served. Direct primaries have not accomplished what the most ardent advocates of the idea promised."

WHY THE OLD SYSTEM MUST RETURN

In discussing the matter with many men of many minds, without regard to political affiliations, I have found a strong sentiment in favor of the return to the old convention plan. Those who have observed political movements in Pennsylvania during the last half century will not have forgotten the tremendous interest aroused in political affairs through the holding of party conventions. When these passed out with the introduction of the uniform primary, much of the active interest also died. Volumes could be written of the enthusiasm aroused for candidates through the effort to elect delegates to conventions in their favor. Not only was the convention the expression of party will; it was also the stage upon which

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the actors passed before the chosen representatives of the voters. These actors were either State, county or district leaders and by means of party effort many a young fellow proved his right to leadership and grew in favor with the voters and those in party control.

It has been my privilege to attend many conventions, from those which have chosen candidates for President down to the city assembly for the choice of local candidates, and it has always been my feeling that these conventions were responsible for a more direct and concrete expression of the will of the voters than has ever happened under the free-and-easy primary scheme.

Who can ever forget the setting-up of delegates, first for the city or county convention, then for the State convention, and from the State convention to the national body? These contests developed real fighters. Not only were they combatants in the political sense, but they learned to understand the higher responsibilities of citizens.

IN AN OLD-TIME STATE CONVENTION

In the old State convention days all the leaders and near-leaders from every section of the State assembled at Harrisburg for the framing of the party ticket. Such men as Matthew Stanley Quay, Boies Penrose, Frank Reeder, General D. H. Hastings, John P. Elkin, W. I. Schaffer, W. W. Griest, David Martin, James E. Barnett, C. L. Magee, Ernest F. Acheson, James Beacom, E. A. Van Valkenburg, George Vare, Col. Louis A. Watres, W. E. Crow, Geo. F. Huff, John M. Reynolds, Thos. V. Cooper, Samuel Losch, Larry Eyre, James McNichol, Israel Durham and scores of others gathered at the State Capital a day or two before the convention was to assemble and, through conferences with the delegates, shaped up a ticket that was usually nominated though not always without clashes that served to arouse fighting interest in the party. Nor were the slates agreed upon in night conferences always successful. More than once names favored were dropped in the voting and the tail-ender

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turned up at the top of the list when the balloting was finally ended. This was true in the case of the late William T. Davies, a former Lieutenant Governor. He was so certain that he had been defeated that he left the convention hall, returned to his hotel and was going to the railroad station on the way home when he was overtaken by a messenger and advised that he had been nominated and was expected to make a speech. He could hardly believe this possible, but was persuaded to return to the convention hall.

One of the interesting incidents of every big convention was the preparation of the party platform. While this declaration of principles was frequently ignored after the campaign got under way, the preparation of the resolutions was always considered an important part of pre-convention activities. The late Lyman D. Gilbert, of Harrisburg, probably framed more platforms for the Republican party in State convention days than any other whom I can now recall. His fine diction and apt phrasing of platform policies and party principles always appealed to Senator Quay, himself a scholar who could appreciate the rhetoric of the distinguished Harrisburg lawyer. It was the day of pointing with pride at the record of the majority in Pennsylvania and denouncing with scorn and contempt the alleged actions of the opposition. "We view with alarm" was a favorite form of expression where policies and acts of the opposition were involved. As I look back over this period I cannot help thinking that the writers of these arraigning and condemning resolutions must have stopped often in the midst of their labors to indulge in laughter at their own performances.

With the coming of the direct primary the ponderous party platform disappeared, and the candidate himself was compelled to formulate in speeches and statements the attitude of his party as well as his own views on current issues. The late William Uhler Hensel, Attorney General in the second Pattison administration, a writer of rare power and facility of expression, prepared many

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of the Democratic pronouncements of his day. I have often heard these platform makers of both parties in a congenial hour, forgetting all political differences, tell of their platform-making experiences. It is apparent, then, that when the convention was junked as a political agency and the platform ceased to be of much importance, there was a distinct loss in the maintenance of interest in governmental affairs.

FROM A PLATFORM TO A MASS MEETING

Now even the mass meeting of the convention and delegate era has almost entirely ceased to be employed as the one best method of instructing voters. Incidentally, the torchlight parades and the political marching groups are no longer regarded as essential to party success. To some of us who marched with the Harrison Invincibles, the James Donald Cameron Club, the Plumed Knights, the Hancock Legion and other political marching organizations, the former campaigns and their wonderful parades are still an inspiring memory. These political demonstrations were necessary to an awakening of the voters. They aroused interest in candidates and issues as nothing else could.

Pride in the organization, building of party morale and personal contact with the leaders and candidates, were all involved in the old methods now almost forgotten in many sections. Clubs were trained in military tactics and movements; for instance, the Harrison Invincibles, a famous Harrisburg regimental organization, which I had the honor to command. This club comprised several companies, all officered by members of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. The members were uniformed in white duck trousers and spats, blue army blouse with stiff collar and insignia, white belt, white helmet and plume, and the usual shoulder straps. All the officers wore frock coats with brass buttons, and parade swords. Each man carried a straight torch, and the manual of arms was admirably executed. I have never seen better company or battalion movements than were executed by this club. All

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the important cities and towns in Central Pennsylvania invited the Invincibles for at least one important parade in each campaign. It was always the request of this Harrisburg organization that it be assigned the left of the line, so that its various drill movements on the march might not retard the parade. A big fife and drum corps, composed largely of steel workers, furnished the most effective marching music. The Plumed Knights of York were recognized rivals of the Harrisburg group in the Benjamin Harrison campaign and the Hancock Legion, a Democratic favorite, always aimed to outdo the Cameron Club in the heyday of its activities.

THE PARADE OF OTHER DAYS

Clashes were not always avoidable when both Republican and Democratic parties staged demonstrations for the same night—usually a night or two before the election. It was the theory of party managers that the closing parade should be arranged for the Saturday night nearest the election in order to get the benefit of the enthusiasm aroused by the marching hosts. Candidates frequently rode at the head of the line that they might be seen by their admirers. Red-fire and the spot light always brought these standard bearers into full view and the advantage of every little outburst of approval from the side lines was emphasized by their cohorts along the sidewalks.

These parades were frequently reviewed by the Governor or by prominent visiting orators.

Farther back, it was the custom to illuminate the windows of the streets covered in the route of the parade. Without thought of the risk of conflagration, candles burned brightly in hundreds of windows as the party cheer-leaders marched along the way.

It seems but yesterday that these campaign practices were in vogue. Their decadence can be traced directly to the enactment of the uniform primary system and the consequent elimination of recognized party control.



THE HARRISON INVINCIBLES, A FAMOUS MARCHING CLUB OF 1889



AS DING AND McCUTCHEON SEE THE DIRECT PRIMARY
 Reproduced by Courtesy of The New York Herald-Tribune

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In the centralized direction of a political party—boss rule, if you please—as I have seen it in practical operation in Pennsylvania, there is involved responsibility such as one does not find in the present primary scheme. So long as nominees for public office were chosen by recognized party leaders, it was the desire of these men to select with care the candidates, to the end that their own rule as party dictators might not be affected by unpopular and inefficient persons, if these were successful at the polls.

THE IMPORTANCE OF DELEGATE CHOOSING

Courage and determination and knowledge of human nature were essential in the selection, not only of candidates themselves, but likewise of the delegates who, in convention assembled, would actually make the nominations. This was obviously necessary because the fidelity and the loyalty of the delegate were important to the head of the organization. Any weakness of a delegate or disloyalty of any sort might—and often did—result in actual failure of the plan so carefully outlined for a particular campaign. Desertion of a single delegate has been known to upset an elaborate political program and unhorse a powerful leader.

In the development of the uniform primary the fundamental failure is lack of personal responsibility in the choice of candidates. When the so-called party bosses did the picking of candidates, they understood the consequences of a mistake of judgment, and not infrequently close personal friends were rejected by the organization leader. Friendship had no place in the choosing of men for public office under the old system, the prime requisite being their availability and strength with the voters. An illustration of this fact was the State convention which nominated Samuel W. Pennypacker for Governor. This was the most surprising example of ruthless party leadership that I can now recall. Senator Quay seemed to be grooming for months a popular lieutenant in the person of John P. Elkin, of Indiana County, then Attorney Gen-

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eral in the cabinet of William A. Stone. It was apparently an easy triumph for Elkin, but as the convention drew near there were whispers of a coup by Senator Quay that would almost certainly eliminate the hopeful Attorney General. Friends of Elkin pooh-poohed the report of Quay's change of heart and called attention to the fact that Israel W. Durham, the powerful Philadelphia leader of that day, was a supporter of Elkin, and was known as one who never deserted his friends. Then the unexpected happened. Durham made a statement aligning himself with Quay and in favor of Pennypacker and invoked the wrath of thousands who had rallied early to the Elkin standard. This caused a tremendous sensation. My "*Et tu, Brute*" editorial of protest evoked wide comment.

FRIENDSHIP NO QUALIFICATION FOR OFFICE

This was a clear demonstration of what is politically recognized as sometimes necessary to party success—the turning down of one friend for another more available, albeit both are trusted members of the same household of faith. It was a heartbreaking experience for both Elkin and Durham. These men were like Damon and Pythias, and Quay was denounced roundly for his apparent heartlessness and alleged lack of appreciation of one who had been an ardent and strong supporter. It later developed, however, that Quay was somewhat fearful of the growing influence in party counsels of Elkin. He suspected that there might be developing an insurgency that would undermine and eventually overthrow his own leadership. In the circumstances he likely felt justified in turning thumbs down for Elkin and making known to his confidants that Judge Pennypacker was more to his liking. That this conclusion was probably justified is borne out in the later elevation of Elkin to the Supreme Court, an honorable office and one presumably far removed from participation in active party leadership and control. Thus the promotion of the Indiana County schoolmaster, legislator and chief law

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officer of the Commonwealth, served the double purpose of his political elimination and tended to quiet his outraged friends who continued to denounce Quay as one who held power by trampling into the earth those who had enabled him to retain for years his grasp on the party machinery. Whatever the motive that actuated the great boss in this remarkable indifference to personal considerations, no single episode of his remarkable career served more effectually to demonstrate his uncanny power of selection in the making up of a ticket. It was a ticklish thing to do, but no one ever doubted Quay's courage in any situation.

FROM THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE

But whenever the suggestion is offered that the uniform primary system be given up and a return be made to the old convention system, there are ardent defenders of the present plan. Thus, in the summer of 1926, the State League of Women Voters took a strong position against any tampering with the primary system. It gave warning against any effort to deprive the electorate of direct power. "We may well hesitate before jumping from the frying pan into the fire," said the official bulletin of the League. "If the convention system which it is proposed shall be substituted for the direct primary system does not work in the future as it did not satisfactorily in the past, shall we then consider and advocate setting up some kind of dictatorship?"

This outburst followed a speech in the United States Senate by Senator David A. Reed, of Pennsylvania, in which he held the uniform primary responsible for all the financial and other scandals of the State. Incidentally, former Secretary of State Hughes was quoted as emphasizing the advantages of a proper direct primary. This official bulletin also printed John S. Fisher's reply to an interrogatory as to his attitude on the primary. He said, "I was sponsor of the primary election law of 1906 and would strengthen rather than weaken the present stat-

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utes." About the same time the official publication of the State Grange took a fling in the campaign against the primary. Indeed, for a time its main champion was the League of Women Voters and some non-partisans.

AN ABNORMAL PRIMARY

In 1926, after Mr. Fisher's nomination by the Republicans of Pennsylvania, he said, in a letter to the author:

"The recent primary was so abnormal that it does not furnish a fair criterion for judgment upon the primary system. There were some developments, however, that must require careful consideration. It demonstrated that it required large sums of money, even if legitimately spent, to carry on an aggressive fight in a big state. When every known publicity agency is requisitioned to reach ten million people it is of necessity expensive.

"Of even greater concern, because of its far-reaching consequences, is the effect of a primary system upon party solidarity and responsibility. If party government is to continue we must devise some plan whereby the party gives expression to the platforms and policies upon which the contest is waged, rather than to open the way for individual candidates to announce what may be merely personal platforms. The present situation illustrates the mix-up that may take place in the composition of a ticket based upon individual views. Can we continue the primary under conditions that will preserve the party?"

Serious consideration is even now being given the consolidation of the vote in large centers of population like Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Political organizations in these two cities realize, of course, what such concentration of party action will mean in dominating the State. Then must follow, almost necessarily, resistance from the uncontrolled sections. "It simply raises the old struggle between autocratic centralized control and free thinking," is the way one in position to interpret the situation put it to me. What will be done to avoid the

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dangers of a conflict between the cities and the country sections?

THE VIGOROUS ASSAULT OF SENATOR REED

In vigorous fashion Senator D. A. Reed gave vent to his feelings respecting the direct primary when the votes were counted in May, 1926, and the turning of the light on the campaign expenditures followed at Washington. What interested me in the Senator's comment on the primary as such was not the criticism of the so-called ballot-reform measure, but the fact that I had been expostulating against the system for years. It was a bit gratifying to realize that I had been somewhat ahead of the main body of protestants, and that the rear guard was rapidly being mobilized on this burning issue.

With Senator Reed, who is no mean fighter, it is not an academic question. He is in the position of a second army in imminent relation to the main front. In other words, his candidacy for reelection will certainly encounter the direct primary and all its works, unless the voice of the people is raised to arouse the electors in defense of candidates and decent government.

George Horace Lorimer in the *Saturday Evening Post*, commenting on the orgy of spending in Pennsylvania and Illinois, said:

"Possibly there may be no cure for the existing state of things except the abolition of the direct-primary system, but in the light of recent happenings methods of strengthening the law readily suggest themselves.

"Men experienced in practical politics foretold how the present system would work out. Weaknesses which they foresaw have materialized. A new crop of abuses has grown up in place of the old one. Prospective candidates for nominations have been made to see, only too plainly, that unless they have organization support or the heaviest kind of financial backing, they will too often have only a Chinaman's chance to win an important nomination. Candidacy under the old method was predicated upon a certain standing in organization

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circles. It was not a free-for-all contest and no one pretended it was. The new method as it is working out in practice is free for all—especially demagogues and those who have the price or who can get the price for a million-dollar primary.”

BRAINS VERSUS CAMPAIGN FUNDS

An important newspaper declared, after the revelations before the Senate investigating committee, that “the candidate may be the most able citizen in the State, but his brains and fitness often have little chance against a fat campaign fund.” It was further urged that under the primary system a poor man, no matter how able he is or how much the State may need his services, has no business in politics. “The direct primary is another reform that has failed,” recorded the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia. “It is beautiful in theory, but it doesn’t work.”

Hailed as the one sure way to raise the moral and intellectual level of our public life, the primary system has done nothing of the kind. No better men are being nominated in primaries than were named in conventions. There is no more ability in Congress now than there was before the days of the primary. Direct election of Senators, another loudly acclaimed reform, has worked no better. There has been a change in Congress, but it has been for the worse. The growth of blocs, the lack of party discipline, of party leadership and party responsibility are all fruits of this expensive, wasteful and hypocritical system. The primary has not balked the politician. He is finding it more costly, but he is using it just as freely and as easily as he did the much-condemned convention system.

THE LEGITIMATE COSTS OF A PRIMARY FIGHT

P. S. Stahlnecker, Governor Pinchot’s secretary, was treasurer of the Pinchot State Committee, and he outlined some of the tremendous legitimate demands in a primary fight. For instance, he mentioned that the cost of

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sending out a letter to each of the enrolled voters of the Commonwealth is \$140,000. This was only one item. On top of this were expenditures for printing and distribution of books and pamphlets, for traveling expenses, for the rental of halls and the organization of meetings, the use of wire and telephone services, and all that.

In the United States Senate committee's investigation it was pointed out for the first time that certain considerable sums were expended for "dissemination of information." Pressed for an explanation of what this meant, Mr. Stahlnecker frankly stated that in one case a woman had made several speeches for which she was paid and a detective was also employed as an orator. Another woman was brought from New York to take charge of the speakers at a salary which began at \$75.00 a week and ended at \$100. Several other women workers were on the pay-roll. "Most of these women are patriots for pay," suggested Senator Reed, chairman of the committee. "It seems so," said Stahlnecker, who is a good deal of a philosopher in political matters.

HE WAS A "PIKER"

In view of some rather forceful editorial opinions, especially in certain newspapers which have on more than one occasion scornfully commented on the Harrisburg *Telegraph's* frequent protests against the free-for-all features of the uniform primary, a remarkable change of editorial attitude is now apparent. But what is passing through the minds of many patriotic citizens in this day is the grave suspicion that at too many points the American system of government is sagging. For instance, Senator Newberry was held up to public scorn and contempt when his right to sit in the United States Senate was questioned as a result of heavy campaign expenses. He was accused of spending \$195,000, but in the light of what has since transpired in Pennsylvania and other states, Newberry may be regarded as somewhat of a "piker." In that sensational contest the Senate solemnly resolved, after Governor Pinchot had

criticised Senator Pepper for supporting Senator Newberry in the election contest, that this large expenditure of money in the Newberry campaign "was contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity of the Senate and dangerous to the perpetuity of a free government." Surely sonorous and ponderous words! What will be said of those who criticised Newberry remains for the future.

Thus the storm is brewing and I shall be surprised not at all to witness, in the 1927 Legislature a real effort to restore the discarded convention-delegate system. In fact Senator Reed has already announced in an interview his purpose to have presented at the 1927 session of the Legislature of Pennsylvania a bill providing for a State Convention system similar to the New York law. He declared that the convention system is not proof against corruption or is it infallible, but that it offers a better chance for a good selection of candidates than the present uniform primary scheme.

PLACING RESPONSIBILITY WHERE IT BELONGS

Parties, like individuals, sometimes think they want what is not good for them, and in my study of conditions I am convinced responsibility should be placed upon parties through their recognized leaders. Assumption of leadership under present primary conditions tends to party raiding, indifference as to character and qualifications of candidates, exclusion of poor and worthy men fit for the public service, and breaking down of the morale without which political movements of the right sort cannot long survive.

As a final suggestion on this open primary question, may I add the conviction that, deep in the heart of the true American citizen, rich or poor, is an earnest desire to support his government to the utmost of his ability. Because this is so he should be encouraged in every reasonable way to take full part in all the political activities that have to do with expression of American

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opinion in the adoption of policies and the selection of those who shall administer the public affairs. Qualifications for the voter should be as simple as possible.

WHY THE PRIMARY FAILS

Robert Von Moschzisker, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in a discussion of the failure of the primary to meet expectations, gave expression to his views in a statement to the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia. Starting with the Gambetta observation, "Parties are formed by ideas; groups are formed by interests," he dwelt briefly upon the fact that like convictions and loyalty to a common cause were responsible for the institution of the two-party method of government. He then led up to the adoption of the direct primary system, setting forth the theories of those who favored the change in support of the proposition that opportunity for corruption would be greatly diminished and other good results achieved. Observing that many have come to doubt whether the old method was not the best way of nominating candidates, he wonders whether it would not have been wiser to study and remedy defects in the convention system rather than summarily abolish it. Under the convention system, he points out, an opportunity was afforded from time to time for the several parties to make pronouncements upon the ideals and policies upon which they stood and on the common beliefs that justified their existence. This opportunity prevented members of parties from falling into groups. He also confirms a popular opinion that the new system diminishes the number of voluntary workers and substitutes professional or paid workers in their stead. Likewise he approves what many of us have long held, that the convention-delegate system binds men together in a common belief and arouses interest in government. It is also the opinion of the Chief Justice that there would be less necessity for large expenditures under the old system and more serious consideration given to the selection of candidates. The Chief Justice says that the system itself

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has largely brought about the conditions we have to meet. He makes a good point in the statement that retaining the direct primary nomination scheme involves bitter animosities in the primary battle which are carried into the subsequent general election. Nor does he take any stock in the fantastic suggestion that while retaining the present method of nomination we might have a sort of convention scheme in which delegates could approve and formulate party policies. Such a change he intimates quite properly would be cumbersome and of no good effect.

As there is no constitutional question involved in a change of the direct primary system, it is doubtful whether the Legislature of 1927 will be satisfied to go along without an effort to revise the plan of nominating candidates. Once it was regarded an honor for party lieutenants to send successful delegates from the particular districts for which they were responsible to the party organization. I have often seen county or district leaders report in Harrisburg to Senator Quay or to the Camerons, father and son, or to Senator Penrose, the triumphant results of the campaign for members of the Legislature or Congress or delegates. They had as much pride in their success and pleasure in the commendation of the big bosses as they would have had in any direct honors coming to themselves. In short, the approval of the big leader was a sufficient reward in most cases.

Unless the direct and uniform primary shall have utterly destroyed this old-time attitude of loyalty on the part of county and district lieutenants, it is likely that the convention-delegate system would soon rally loyal and faithful subordinates under the flag of the party organization.

As illustrating the changing sentiment on the present national primary system, Theodore Roosevelt, son of the late President, speaking in Milwaukee, declared in favor of the convention system which would make possible the nomination of a poor man without being faced

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with an impossible expense. This sounds somewhat strange from such a source, especially as Governor Pinchot, at about the same time, was declaring repeal of the primary system equivalent to a "civic crime."

Those in position to judge the unfortunate results of the direct primary are courageously outspoken against the so-called electoral reform. The open door to experiments is so wide and inviting that candidates rush in where angels would fear to tread. Theodore Roosevelt's son probably gave expression to some such view as his father might have adopted were he living in these latter days.



CHAPTER IV

QUAY'S LEADERSHIP TWICE QUESTIONED

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, who became the greatest political boss, not only in Pennsylvania, but in the entire United States, was the son of a Presbyterian preacher. He was a soldier, editor, national Republican leader, and a forceful statesman. He bulks large in the annals of Pennsylvania, the most intensively cultivated political area of the entire country. Overstocked with members of the majority party the open season is too brief for efficient deflation of personal booms. These constantly encounter each other and what we know as campaigns are little more than temporary expedients for reducing the visible supply of candidates for the public service. Recognized party leadership naturally reduces undigested ambitions.

QUAY'S LIFE OF CONFLICT

Senator Quay was one of the many gallant Civil War veterans who served in various public positions after the great fratricidal struggle, his distinction in battle giving him a wide personal popularity. His life was one of conflict to the end, and he once expressed a wish that he might die when his time came alone like an old stag upon some jutting and remote crag in the Maine woods. It is said his health was so precarious that life insurance was refused twenty years or more before he died.

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His was a fighting spirit and in war or peace he knew not fear.

Having served as a legislator, he was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth under Governor John F. Hartranft, and was continued in this office by Governor Henry M. Hoyt. During this service Colonel Quay began to demonstrate remarkable political skill and finesse. Later (1885) he was elected State Treasurer, and on the termination of Senator John I. Mitchell's term in the United States Senate in 1887 he was chosen to succeed the Tioga County man. This was his real entry into the national arena. Senator Cameron was his Pennsylvania colleague. Up to this time Quay had been a recognized lieutenant of General Simon Cameron and in the Hartranft campaign established a reputation as an editor of great influence on the *Beaver Radical*. He was an incisive writer.

It is a notable fact that in all the attacks upon his leadership Colonel Quay invariably made himself a personal target, that his friends and enemies might have no doubt concerning the issue. This was particularly true in the 1895 onslaught led by Governor Hastings, when Quay accepted the challenge and promptly announced himself as a candidate for chairman of the State Committee.

Bold in his appeals to the people, he was courageous in execution. Old soldiers recall that, his enlistment having expired on the eve of a great battle in the Civil War, he immediately asked to be allowed to rejoin his regiment, and participated in the sanguinary attack that followed. These and other incidents in his career made him a strong figure among men. It is still remembered that, having crushed the "Hog Combine" revolt in 1895, he immediately tendered the olive branch, and among other peace overtures pledged support of the regular organization for election of the Hastings appointees to the Superior Court. Also, on motion of Quay himself, his chief adversary was elected chairman of the con-

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vention as evidence of magnanimity on the part of the victor. It was a dramatic gesture and a spectacular close to a hectic campaign.

ALMOST OVERTHROWN

His defeat of the "Hog Combine" was one of a series of spectacular battles. Later he was confronted with a somewhat similar situation when Governor William A. Stone backed Attorney General John P. Elkin as his successor in the gubernatorial chair at Harrisburg. Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker was nominated and then Elkin was elevated to the Supreme Court, another bit of magnanimity on Quay's part. Again he was elected State Chairman that he might personally direct the campaign for Pennypacker.

Three members of an important interior county turned from Elkin to Pennypacker during this exciting pre-convention period. Quay had established personal headquarters in Harrisburg and here, as on other important occasions when he leased private residences, he met his friends and those whose support he desired. These three up-state delegates tried to see the supreme boss, but an officious doorkeeper prevented them from getting to the inner sanctum of the great man, whereupon they left in a huff. Soon after a certain State Senator was told their story. "Come along with me," he said, "I'll see that you meet Senator Quay." Soon they were in the impressive presence. Quay, with one leg over the arm of a rocker, gave them a cordial greeting. Two of the trio quickly agreed to go along with the Quay program for Judge Pennypacker for Governor, but the third was slow in making a pledge. Quay berated this delegate and charged him with ingratitude. He had been the beneficiary of the Senator in a political way through financial support in his campaign. "I told you that it was foolish to oppose Cochran," said the big boss, recalling his visitor's defeat in the Lycoming district. "No one could lick Cochran!" When the three left all were pledged to Pennypacker.

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George Nox McCain, of the old guard of newspaper men, whose retentive memory has recently revived some interesting political episodes, speaks of Senator Quay's comeback in 1901 as a memorable thing. Quay already had introduced the personal letter as his best method of communication with the people and to this day his letters are framed in many households of Pennsylvania as remarkable historical documents. Many a farmer on the hillsides of Pennsylvania tells his friends to this day of the time when Quay wrote him asking his support; and the fact that he had received such a letter enlisted every atom of energy in that particular farmer's household.

SAVED BY UNCANNY SKILL

The comeback to which Colonel McCain refers was the organization of the Legislature in the session of 1901. Quay won control of the House with one vote to spare, but that was the crux of the whole situation. No one who was on Capitol Hill at that time can have forgotten the bald stories of bribery and corruption which were rife. Votes were alleged to have been sold for all figures from five hundred to two thousand dollars each. It is not doubted that considerable money was expended without the fact ever reaching the surface.

In the Legislature or any other legislative body bribery is a difficult thing to prove. Of the investigations that I know anything about practically all resulted in nothing. Since three Democrats voted for General Simon Cameron, and various alliances between political bosses of both parties are matters of history, it is hardly advisable for the pot to call the kettle black. I always think of the story of Douglas and Lincoln in their famous joint debates. Douglas charged Lincoln with selling whiskey publicly. Lincoln admitted the corn by saying that he sold the rum from behind the counter while Douglas bought and drank it in front. So it is with political scandals. One party has no more of virtue than the other, and the people are coming to this conclusion very rapidly.

In any study of Quay one is struck with his uncanny

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faculty of striking his foe at his weakest point. He talked freely with newspaper men, but remembered any violation of a confidence almost to a vindictive point. Those who knew him intimately freely attributed his complete success in politics to listening always to the voice of the people and endeavoring to give them just what they desired or as near it as possible.

A story that aptly illustrates this is told of a former State Senator, Walter T. Merrick, of Tioga County, who served as a member of the House in 1895 and then was promoted to a place in the Senate. During all of his career he was an ardent supporter of Quay and could be relied upon to do his utmost to further the Quay interests.

In the 1895 fight there was a vigorous opposition manifesting itself to the leadership of Quay, and a formidable combination was already in existence to accomplish his downfall. In order to make himself solid with the Philadelphia board of judges of the common pleas courts, Quay promised to support a bill providing for a system of judges' pensions. One day, in conversation with Merrick, the Senator informed him that he was very desirous of having this bill enacted into law, and asked the Tioga man's support. The latter was amazed, declaring that he had spoken against the bill on second reading and meant to take a similar position when it reached the third-reading stage. "Why," said Merrick, "it is contrary to the wishes of my constituents and is vigorously opposed by a goodly number of the representatives of the country districts." Quay expressed utter surprise at this information, having been led to believe otherwise. "Walter," he said, "you better go along with your people and forget my request."

WHY THE BILL DIED

Upon final reading, notwithstanding vigorous opposition, the bill was passed by the House and sent to the Senate. In this body Quay was even more supreme than he was in the House, but made no effort to move the

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bill in committee. One day the chairman of the committee which had the bill in charge asked the Senator just what his desires were in relation to it, whereupon Quay replied that he was gathering sentiment on it, and he would let it rest until he gave further orders. The session dragged on and still no action was taken. Then the bill died in committee. Some time afterwards Merrick asked Quay why he had not pushed it to a successful conclusion, as he undoubtedly had the power to do by simply saying the word, and Quay replied: "When you told me the countrymen were opposed to the bill I sent out for information among my friends in the interior of the State. I soon found that your view was correct and, as I relied on the countrymen for my strength, I determined to give them what they wanted, which was the defeat of the bill. Only a handful of Philadelphia lawyers and judges wanted it, whereas a great mass of voters opposed it, and I have always found it pays to cater to the masses as against the classes." Quay stuck close to the "men in blouses" and had their support.

THE FAMOUS "HOG COMBINE" FIGHT

My newspaper friends of the older generation still have a keen appreciation and remembrance of the historic fight for party control between Senator Quay and the "Hog Combine" in the Hastings administration to which reference has been made. This rather startling political characterization was intended to describe the bosses who controlled the two large cities—Mack, Porter and Martin in Philadelphia and Magee and Flinn in Pittsburgh. Martin was not known to have participated in the Philadelphia contracts, but there was suspicion that the heavy financial backers of his organization were among the favored ones. This contest was the most thrilling clash of political interests that Pennsylvania has ever known. There had been some rumbling against Senator Quay's direction of party affairs, but most of this was in the nature of an undercurrent. Few district or county leaders had the temerity to defy openly his leadership,

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but were nevertheless willing quietly to help along any real demonstration against him. Quay was not sleeping at the switch. He had his scouts out in every direction in peace and war and mighty little could happen without his knowledge. For weeks the battle went on all over Pennsylvania, and toward the end Senator Quay dropped into his Harrisburg hotel, where he was asked by some of us for a statement as to the situation. I remember particularly that he replied to one of his old newspaper friends, in response to an invitation to have a refreshing drink, that he was not drinking during the campaign; that he wanted a clear mind to meet the moves of his enemies. He looked tired and worn, but there was in his face and manner all the appearance of an old warrior who would yet conquer his opponents.

As the convention day approached, and the cohorts of both sides gathered in Harrisburg, there was a large group of newspaper men present from all over the United States. Intense national interest was manifest in the outcome of the struggle. Senator Quay, throughout the controversy, had insisted that the growing use of money in politics should be decried. He likewise protested against corporation control of government and elections, the granting of exclusive franchises for public utilities, and favoritism in the letting of public contracts. This had a tremendous appeal in the rural districts. Even to this day there are Republicans in the remote regions of the State who proudly display to visitors a card from Senator Quay, thanking them for their interest in his campaign and the support of his cause. No great leader ever knew so well how to get to the hearts of the people.

At last the big day arrived, and Harrisburg rapidly filled with Republicans from every part of the State. What caused most disturbance in the minds of the responsible leaders on both sides was the concentration of hard-boiled fighters, who came to Harrisburg to defend the claims of their favorites. Fist fights were not uncommon, but when it developed that there had been as-

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sembled during the night before the convention a great crowd of Senator Magee's friends from Pittsburgh and another similar gang of backers of Senator Quay from Philadelphia, such men as Thomas V. Cooper, General Frank Reeder, Senator Magee and others on the anti-Quay side began to take account of the situation and finally determined in a joint midnight conference that there should be some sort of peace agreement to avoid shooting on the streets and perhaps a great riot the next day. It was such an armistice as was necessary to prevent a serious outbreak of factional hostilities.

AN ENTRENCHED OPERA HOUSE

So it was agreed after full discussion of the matter, that an equal number of tickets to the Opera House should be supplied to each side; that there should be no attempt to force the situation in any way, and that the plug-uglies of the anti-Quay forces, who had managed to gain access through the stage wings to the old theater where the convention was to be held while a play was on, would be removed. Three newspaper men were chosen to represent the entire force of writers in arranging for press accommodations in the theater. Colonel Henry Hall acted for one side and Colonel George Nox McCain for the other side in distributing admission tickets. I was the neutral representative selected to arrange stage press seats and desks before the hour of the convention that all might have accommodations. I had necessary credentials from Senator Magee to Roger O'Mara, then the hard-fisted Superintendent of Police of Pittsburgh, in command of the anti-Quay fighters, who had taken possession of the Opera House during the night.

When I approached the stage entrance on Third Street, only after much shouting and pounding the door was opened a few inches, and I was asked profanely what I wanted. I explained that I was the peace emissary agreed upon by both sides to arrange the stage for the newspaper men. Some comment that was lurid came through the thin opening of the door. This was finally opened a little

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wider, and I was yanked into the corridor, the door being promptly slammed shut. A large plank that was cleated to the floor was quickly swung into position to prevent any further invasion from the outside. I found the corridor more or less decorated with empty bottles, as was also the stairway leading to the stage. Men were lying about or sitting on chairs half asleep and mostly drunk. They were clearly antagonistic and imagined, as I subsequently learned, that I was putting something over on their bosses.

After arranging the desks and chairs on the stage for the newspaper crowd I was ready to leave, but was then informed with more force than politeness that I would remain where I was until the convention met; that they were not going to take any chances of a surprise from the outside. For some reason they were doubtful about my credentials; but after a long harangue I was permitted to depart.

When the convention finally assembled at the hour fixed it reminded me of nothing so much as a peaceful Sunday-school assemblage. None was admitted unless he possessed a ticket as a delegate or sponsored spectator, properly countersigned by the persons agreed upon at the conference the night before.

THE MIDNIGHT ARMISTICE

As to the rest of that day, it is all political history. Senator Quay had beaten his opponents decisively. In a caucus during the night there was a counting of noses which showed that Quay had a majority of thirty over Gilkeson, the combine candidate for chairman. This record of votes was made by William A. Connor, a representative of the Associated Press, who kept tally as the showdown developed in the old Board of Trade Building. In the convention one move after another was made to demonstrate the triumphal nature of Senator Quay's victory. On the organization Governor Hastings was elected chairman on Quay's motion.

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In the crushing of John P. Elkin's chances to be nominated for Governor at a later time, it has always been the belief of those close to the men involved that Quay at the same time gave Israel W. Durham, the organization boss of Philadelphia, a fatal blow. Durham was a close friend of Elkin, and he surrendered to Quay's dominance only after great mental distress. He had promised to stand by Elkin "sink or swim." At about this time Senator Penrose was coming into his own right as a political leader. He had been made chairman of the convention which nominated Judge Pennypacker, and there was no soft stuff in the conduct of that body. In fact, he was already sharing honors with Senator Quay.

In the building up of a formidable battle line for the overwhelming of Quay the Hastings leaders provided for the appointment of seven Superior Court judges, so located geographically as to dominate in a political way large areas of influence. General Frank Reeder's brother was one of them. Groups of counties were given major appointments to enlarge this sphere of control and in every way an effective organization was constructed. But its weakness was the failure to stand in the last rush.

The biggest man who ever sat in the Legislature of Pennsylvania was John F. Slater, more familiarly known as "Pud," of the second district of Philadelphia. He was a member of the session of 1899 which became memorable for the Quay deadlock, and adjourned without electing a member of the United States Senate. At this time "Pud" weighed 435 pounds and upon his advent in Harrisburg it was found necessary to have a special chair built to hold his avoirdupois.

While bitter factionalism prevailed at the session between the Quayites, led by Senator Quay and the "antis" led by Magee, Flinn, Martin, John Wanamaker and others, there was probably more sociability and comradeship among the members than in any session before or since. Slater, an ex-policeman of Philadelphia, was as jocular as he was big, and he never missed an opportunity

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to pull off a joke at the expense of his fellow-members. But there was one occasion when the tables were turned and he was the victim. At this particular time the air was surcharged with stories of desertions from one camp to the other. The leaders had to exercise considerable vigilance to keep their followers in the respective camps. Slater was a pronounced advocate of the Quay cause and faithfully carried out the orders of his ward boss, Joe Nobre, an ardent Quay adherent.

THE PASS AND THE RECRUIT

In those days, when railroad passes were as "thick as flies" around Harrisburg, no one in politics ever thought of paying railroad fare. On a certain night Slater was approached by one of his followers who wanted transportation to Philadelphia. It happened that Slater could not get in touch with anyone on the Quay side to fill this order and he appealed to a fellow-member—McClellan Hersh of Philadelphia—to get him the required pass. The railroad pass then knew neither party nor faction.

The Commonwealth Hotel was then the headquarters of the "antis," and Hersh took Slater upstairs to get the coveted pass from David Martin. As he was entering the room the thought occurred to him that the stage was set for a good joke on Slater. Standing in the room as they entered was John Wanamaker. Hersh loudly announced, "Good evening, gentlemen, meet "Pud" Slater, another recruit."

Wanamaker took the declaration seriously and almost threw his arms about the astonished Slater in the warmth of his greeting and welcome. It took Slater several minutes to convince him that he had no thought of deserting Quay; that he merely wanted to get a railroad pass from Martin. In this he succeeded and went about his business.

POKER GAME CAUSES TROUBLE

Late the same night a poker game was started in Slater's room, which did not adjourn until toward the break of day. The two houses of the Legislature met in



M S Quay

UNITED STATES SENATOR M. S. QUAY



FAMOUS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF 1895, AT HARRISBURG

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joint convention at noon each day, and when the game broke up Slater asked one of the participants to leave a call for him for eleven o'clock. Instead, his friend Hersh told the clerk at the desk to let Slater sleep, as he was paired and would not attend the joint session. As a consequence he did not awaken until twelve-thirty and it was one o'clock or after when he reached the Capitol, too late to be recorded in the voting. "Is" Durham, one of the Quay managers, who was directly responsible for Slater, was let in on the joke and at once declared that Nobre, the ward leader of Slater, should be advised. Whereupon a telegram was sent to Nobre, ostensibly signed by Durham, informing him that "Slater had been seen in the Wanamaker headquarters last night and had missed his vote in joint session today."

Now if there was one thing in which Nobre was more proficient than any other, it was picturesque profanity. (In this he was a past-master. That night he came hobbling into the hotel and, encountering Slater, he let loose a tirade that turned the air blue and could be heard for several squares. He accused Slater of having sold him out, and demanded to know how much he had received. Finally Slater got a chance to explain and, not knowing of the joke put up by his friend with the hotel clerk, he blamed the whole matter on the fact that "when John Wanamaker put his arms about me I was hoodooed." This accounted to his superiors for his failure to get up in time. It was incidents of this sort that gave a certain spice to the political struggles of that stormy period.

Throughout the fight to place a business man in the Cameron seat, Thomas Dolan, of Philadelphia, associated with John Wanamaker, was also true to Quay. In all the maneuvering Wanamaker never met Quay, nor had he any understanding with the recognized party leader. It is an interesting fact that Quay's historic long-distance tariff speech in the filibuster against the Wilson bill was actually prepared at great cost by Dolan. He supplied

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the data for this remarkable endurance test—an achievement that stands alone. In later years such a cataract of words would have smashed the filibuster.

Just what arose between Senator Quay and Senator Mark Hanna to cause a sharp cleavage in their relations, has never been clearly explained. Recently I heard a version of the rupture which has some elements of truth. It has to do with Quay's rejection by the Senate after the deadlock in the Legislature and his subsequent appointment by Governor Stone. Hanna's negative vote is alleged to have defeated Quay, and the bitterness became deep-seated. Then the tale runs back to the nomination of McKinley and Roosevelt at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia. Instead of Roosevelt, the availability of Secretary of the Navy Long for second place on the ticket was strongly urged by Hanna, but Platt and Quay forced Roosevelt for Vice President, on the theory that he would thus be shelved as a future contender for the Presidency. Instead, however, of kicking him politically down the stairs, they boosted him upward, the assassination of President McKinley changing all their plans. Hanna is said to have desired to succeed McKinley, and he pulled many strings to that end. He blamed Quay for what happened at Philadelphia, and awaited his opportunity to get even, and was accused of doing so on the Quay appointment.

Also, the Hanna shadow enveloped Elkin's defeat for Governor. He is alleged to have entered into a deal with Elkin and his friends to control the next delegation from Pennsylvania in the National Convention for himself. This, and the Wabash Railroad episode, turned Quay from Elkin and resulted in the subsequent nomination and election of Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker. Quay never divulged his plans and almost to the last hour Elkin and his friends expected a victory. About this time Senator Quay, in the Capitol at Harrisburg, encountered Elkin, who was Attorney General, in a corridor. "Why, Sen-

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ator, I cannot understand why you are not for me," said Elkin. "You taught me all the politics I ever knew." Quay quietly responded, "That's true, John, but I didn't teach you all I know."

QUAY'S READY REFERENCE SYSTEM

In establishing his headquarters at the old Lochiel Hotel in Harrisburg for important campaigns, it was the custom of Senator Quay to reserve a suite of rooms—a large waiting room and a bedroom, with bath between. In this bathroom he arranged what was known as "Quay's coffins"—a letter file in charge of a trusted clerk. Always before a convention or on the assembling of the Legislature he would arrange these personal letters with direct reference to the persons he expected to meet. For instance, if John Smith was coming to see him and his name was announced by the page at the door of the waiting room, the file was immediately consulted and a significant letter was produced. Usually it referred to some favor previously granted by the Senator or was an acknowledgment of some service rendered the visitor. The letters were mostly of such a nature as to clinch the requests which the wily old leader had in mind.

After refreshing his memory on personal connections Quay then indicated that the visitor was to be conducted to the inner sanctum, and he usually left committed to the Quay cause, either as to legislation or some candidate to be nominated.

Quay stood by the friends who stood by him. Once, in a letter from Florida, he spoke of "Shaking the plum tree." By this he meant securing desirable places for those who were faithful to him.

Toward the end of the 1899 session of the Legislature there was under consideration what was known as the McCarrell bill, a proposed change in the manner of selecting juries. Senator Quay was facing a serious indictment in the Philadelphia courts, growing out of alleged use of State funds, as I now recall, and the measure was

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looked upon as a legal life-saver for the threatened statesman and leader.

This bill was passed amid much contention and many scandalous rumors. One of the legislators became so involved that he fled to South America. I think the trial flivvered in the end, in the opinion of many, having been instigated for purposes of reprisal.

THE NEED OF PARLIAMENTARY SKILL

Few men not familiar with legislative practice have any proper conception of the part that parliamentary knowledge plays in the making of laws. James N. Moore, still active head of the Legislative Reference Bureau, is famous for piloting the House through all manner of difficulties. This skill was signally displayed in the hectic sessions made memorable by the effort of his political enemies to down Senator Quay as the party chieftain. While Moore had no personal feeling in the matter, he felt impelled to align himself with the opponents of the big boss. Many of the anti-Quay leaders were young and vigorous men who loved the fight for the fight itself and with no definite feeling against Quay as an individual. These felt their power early in that period, and in the many midnight conferences in which plans were formulated for the succeeding day Moore's skill in devising parliamentary expedients was frequently drawn upon. He was sagacious and alert. If a handful of Democrats in that memorable contest had not deserted their own party and flocked to the Quay standard the Wanamaker-Dalzell-Magee forces would likely have been triumphant.

Some of the older members still in the Legislature or active in politics will not have forgotten the McCarrell bill, to which allusion has been made. The chief object of the opposition was to fight for delay that the Legislature might hold off the bill until the case against Quay was disposed of. Defeated in the House, it was proposed on the evening of the fifth day—the parliamentary time limit—to reconsider the vote by which the measure was

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defeated. Here Moore sprang into the breach with a point of order that the Judiciary General Committee having been called to meet during a sitting of the House and contrary to the rules and without consent of the House, its action was not constitutional. He insisted that the committee must return to the House, but before it could do so the present chief of the Legislative Reference Bureau secured recognition from the Speaker and moved to adjourn. The opposition could not be rallied and the vote on adjournment was 92 to 91.

While Moore was breaking up the session Representative Ford, one of the leading insurgents, held the absent and unsuspecting committee with a speech against the bill under consideration, his comrades in the House remaining on the floor to force adjournment. At this time an effort was also being made to substitute in the House the Senate bill which had already been passed, both measures being identical.

This incident illustrates the flexibility of legislative procedure in the hands of a skillful parliamentarian. Many tempting offers were made to Moore to desert the insurgent forces and line up with the regulars, who recognized his worth and were anxious to have the benefit of his skill. It is the only time he was not with the regular organization, his natural tendency being toward regularity in politics. One of his most persistent stunts was to raise the question of "no quorum" when the Quay faction tried to put over legislation with a "thin house" present. This was particularly the case during the Quay deadlock on United States Senator, when often not more than eight or ten members would be present at a joint session, with the late General J. P. S. Gobin, president of the Senate, in the chair.

During this period of bitter factional struggles John R. Farr, of Scranton, was elected Speaker of the House. He was accused by the insurgents of deserting the anti-Quay colors and thus securing his elevation to the chair. Others active with Moore in those exciting days on

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Capitol Hill were E. A. Corey, now a preacher in the anthracite coal region, Thos. J. Ford, Ward Bliss and James Clarency.

WANAMAKER'S FAITHFUL SEVENTY-SIX

The real reform movement in Pennsylvania started in 1897, when Wanamaker was a candidate against Penrose in the Republican caucus for United States Senator. There were 76 votes against Penrose in the caucus, but these were cast for him in the joint session, and he was triumphant. This organization of the "Seventy-six" was kept up until final adjournment. Henry K. Boyer was Speaker of the House, and the session did not adjourn until the morning of July 3, owing to a dispute over the general appropriation bill, which was not passed until almost the hour of adjournment.

In 1899 Quay was up for reelection and fifty-two Republicans remained out of the caucus, voting against him during the whole of the session. The Democrats voted solidly for George A. Jenks and thus the election of Quay was prevented. When he was refused his seat in the United States Senate, on Governor Stone's appointment, there was thus created a vacancy in the Senate for Pennsylvania from 1899 to 1901, when Quay was again elected, Wm. T. Marshall having been chosen Speaker by a hair.

DEADLOCKED

As previously mentioned, Farr, who was Speaker in 1899, was pledged to the independent faction, but at a critical juncture he changed, voting and ruling against the anti-Quay side during the entire session. A ballot was taken every day at noon during the deadlock, excepting Sunday. The nearest Quay ever came to an election during the session was on one ballot when he received 113 votes.

In the 1901 session General Wm. H. Koontz was the candidate of the independent or reform faction for Speaker, and William T. Marshall of the regulars. Marshall won by one vote. Koontz was a picturesque and

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interesting figure. He was among the first of the Pennsylvania delegates in 1860 to vote for Lincoln, and was in Congress several years before he entered the House in Harrisburg in 1899.

Senator Quay was at St. Lucie, Florida, at the time of the Capitol fire. A few days previously Dr. L. Webster Fox, the celebrated Philadelphia optometrist, had performed an operation on the upper left eyelid, the drooping of which had been gradually growing more marked. All who remember Senator Quay will, of course, recall that this eyelid, a distinguishing feature of his physiognomy, at times gave to his expression a peculiar slant. He habitually wore his hat tilted over this eye as a measure of relief, but his optic was never so much shrouded that he could not see through the political schemes of his enemies.

Quay died May 28, 1904, and subsequently a memorial service was held by the Legislature, Governor Pennypacker pronouncing the eulogy. He quoted from Julius Cæsar, Act I, Scene II, these words: "He reads much; he is a great observer and he looks quite through the deeds of men." He said also: "The bourgeoisie and the men in blouses never failed him." In view of the effort to open the gates of the Sesqui-Centennial of 1926 on Sunday, it is interesting to note that it was Senator Quay who prevented the opening of the World's Fair in Chicago on Sunday.

With the passing of Quay and later of Penrose the Republican party lost counsellors of national size. Years will probably elapse before two such intellectual and political giants rise to take their places. I have always maintained that leadership of a great party is a gift. Ability to lead is not bestowed by money, family tradition or anything of the sort. It comes through the attrition of strong elemental forces working toward a common goal, and with some dominant figure gradually demonstrating power to direct the others.



CHAPTER V

THE REMARKABLE CAREER OF BOIES PENROSE

SENATOR BOIES PENROSE was physically and intellectually a giant. He will live long in the memory of those who knew and admired him. Many of his political enemies have already realized how gravely they misunderstood him. He was not small in his attitude toward public questions or individuals. He rose above the trifling and puerile things which too often engage the thought and effort of public men. More than once he observed to me in our informal exchanges that the period of a man's life is too brief to waste the time in controversies with little men.

Having known him from the time he entered the House at Harrisburg until his lamented death, I feel that my impressions of his character and public service can be set down now with impartial appreciation of a great American.

THE PROGRESS OF PENROSE

After being graduated by Harvard with the honors of his class in 1881, Boies Penrose later wrote at the request of Johns Hopkins University his "Universal Studies in Historical and Political Science." It is conceivable that Theodore Roosevelt's unconcealed liking

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for Penrose was somewhat due to the Cambridge atmosphere of their *alma mater*. In 1886 he was elected by a Philadelphia district to the State Senate, having previously served in the House, and it is remarkable how rapid was his progress when he deserted the law for which he had trained and devoted his energy and talents to the public service.

His party regularity was so much a fetish that, on being twitted by several of his partisan associates for failure to take unto himself a wife, he suggested that this was a matter for the party organization, agreeing to wed the woman whom it should recommend.

As he became more and more powerful in the formulation of national and party policies, and grew more the statesman and less the politician, I thought there was an unexpressed hope of a better understanding in his own State and throughout the country of his important public service. In his progress toward the high place which he occupied at his death Senator Penrose gave little heed to the backbiting and snarling little men who had not the courage to meet him in the open, but did everything in their small way to hamper his prodigious efforts in behalf of his countrymen.

McNICHOL COMES TO THE FRONT

In the legislative session which staged the intensely exciting senatorial contest between Penrose and Wanamaker, following a state-wide political eruption, James P. McNichol was just coming to the front as a factor in Philadelphia politics. He had succeeded in being recognized as the leader of the Tenth ward of the metropolis and immediately allied himself with David Martin, one of a powerful group backing the Wanamaker candidacy, which was regarded as antagonistic to the leadership of Senator Quay. The lines between the factions had been rather sharply drawn from the time of the State chairmanship fight two years before.

McNichol, still in private life, was noted throughout his career as an enthusiast for the particular side with

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which he became allied. He had succeeded in electing two members of the House from his ward—which embraced the old tenderloin—in the persons of Charles E. Voorhees and A. H. (“Gus”) Roberts. Naturally McNichol sought to deliver these two votes in the caucus to Wanamaker, and this proved to be a bitter pill for his constituency to swallow. Voorhees was subject to the orders of McNichol as the new ward boss, but Roberts, being of a more worldly disposition and objecting to the alleged sanctimoniousness of Wanamaker, refused to go along.

However, after being cajoled and threatened, Roberts was finally induced to accept the Wanamaker candidacy, but McNichol was still so dubious of him that he deemed it necessary to sit alongside Roberts when the caucus convened and see to it that he delivered his vote for the merchant prince.

Later the Tenth ward politician broke from the Martin leadership and became a staunch supporter of Quay. When Penrose succeeded the latter as dictator of the party, McNichol became his political partner and remained with him until his death. Thus he terminated his career as a supporter of the man whom he had viciously opposed at the beginning.

THERE IS NO “SITIVATION”

No active newspaper man on the firing line in the Wanamaker campaign for the Senate can ever dissociate from that memorable contest a former Mayor of Philadelphia, the late Rudolph Blankenburg, one of the inside counsellors and strategists of the great merchant’s fighting organization. He was a fine type of the German-American, and he held to the end of his useful life the respect of the workers of the press. He talked freely with us, and while the picture was more rosy as he painted it than we sometimes thought the facts justified, nevertheless he was so sincere and so optimistic that it was not easy for even the routine correspondent to brush aside his conclusions. Toward the close of the

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campaign we asked Blankenburg for a statement on the situation. He seemed somewhat surprised that the scouts of the press should be so lacking in knowledge of what was transpiring in the full blaze of day under their very eyes and, shrugging his broad shoulders as he peered at us through his conspicuous glasses, he declared:

“There is no sitivation! Mr. Vanamaker ees elected!”

And there was never the slightest doubt in my mind that the old war horse of reform was thoroughly convinced on that point. He entertained no thought of defeat and was greatly disappointed, of course, when his side lost. Blankenburg was a picturesque figure and spared not himself in the supreme effort for his friend. He was a German-American of the best type.

As Penrose loomed larger and still larger in the public eye he was even more magnanimous in his estimate of his political contemporaries. He was a guest of honor at the dedication of the great Wanamaker building in Philadelphia, and there was considerable approving comment by those who witnessed the chumminess of the two men who had a few years before been the principals in a notable contest for a seat in the United States Senate. The important service which Penrose had rendered to the business interests of the country always appealed to and was appreciated by John Wanamaker.

PENROSE STRATEGY IN INDIANA

In a recent Indiana demonstration Senator “Jim” Watson is understood to have used Penrose strategy to defeat his political foes and with conspicuous success. He was a close associate of the Pennsylvanian in Washington and he doubtless absorbed a lot of the latter’s finesse in dealing with the foe. Watson had in this later contest about the same type of opposition within his own party which was often encountered by Penrose—the kind of candidate who promises the farmer golden crops of dollars, the railroad worker utopia, the business man relief from about everything that troubles, and everybody joy unconfined. But, like others, Penrose realized

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in his latter days, as Watson and others now realize, that the day of the barefaced demagogue is drawing to an inglorious end. We shall have always some of his kind, but the tribe in the United States is diminishing in proportion to the spread of public intelligence and the dissemination of practical knowledge as to the professional reformer, which is often another name for fakir.

THE DIFFERENCE TO PENROSE

Soon after the enactment of the direct primary law providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote instead of in the joint sessions of the Senate and House, there was much speculation as to the probable effect of this change on the political fortunes of Senator Penrose. Under the old system he had depended, of course, upon the power of the Republican organization to send to Harrisburg enough legislators favorable to him to assure his reelection. In his first open primary State-wide campaign he was booked for a speech at the annual picnic and exposition of the Husbandry near Mechanicsburg. As usual there was a great outpouring of farmers and near-farmers, as well as of those whose chief aim was to farm the farmers and sell them everything from pop-corn to a threshing machine.

It was to be a big day for the Senator. His friends were anxious that he should make a good impression on his first hunt for votes in the wide spaces and face to face with the men, women and children of the rural districts. But they were worried without cause. Instead of any least show of embarrassment or curiosity concerning his bucolic environment, Penrose joyfully entered the large grove where thousands had assembled and was soon in the midst of such a handshaking bee as had never been dreamed of in his philosophy. All ages and sizes and both sexes were represented in the assemblage and everywhere was an earnest desire to speak to the distinguished visitor. I never saw him happier.

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Without wife or child and a confirmed bachelor, he walked up and down the congested avenues, shaking the hands extended to him from every direction and chatting with all, not failing to compliment the proud mothers of babies held up for his admiration. Cheers frequently greeted him as he made his way through the crowds toward the pavilion where he was to speak. His address was admirably suited to the occasion, and even now I remember the common sense and wholesome counsel which featured this talk to the farmers. That speech stood him in good stead for years.

LOOKING FORWARD TO A DEAD MAN'S SHOES

Toward the close of his life, and while his death was regarded as imminent, there were political conspiracies in every quarter with a view to distributing the Penrose political estate. A few now dead and others still living were accused of bartering away the political assets of the dying leader. Hearing of this rather bald division of his political estate, in the midst of his suffering, Senator Penrose came to Harrisburg, and with more vigor than his former lieutenants dreamed he possessed proceeded to upset their well-laid schemes. When Penrose found that these alleged friends and recipients of his many favors were playing the Brutus game, he must have felt like Caesar in similar circumstances, but he wasn't yet as sorely wounded as the historic Roman. Indeed, it revived his waning strength to such an extent that he was able to give such an exhibition of an outraged leader as to make the conspirators quail in his presence. It will never be known, perhaps, how greatly Penrose suffered from the ingratitude of those whom he had favored in many ways. He found that as physical resistance became less and less the harpies about him in the political arena grew more bold in their efforts to grab all the belongings of his political dynasty.

PENROSE HELPS IN A DIFFICULT SITUATION

While I was postmaster of Harrisburg, the State Association of Postmasters gave a banquet at the Belle

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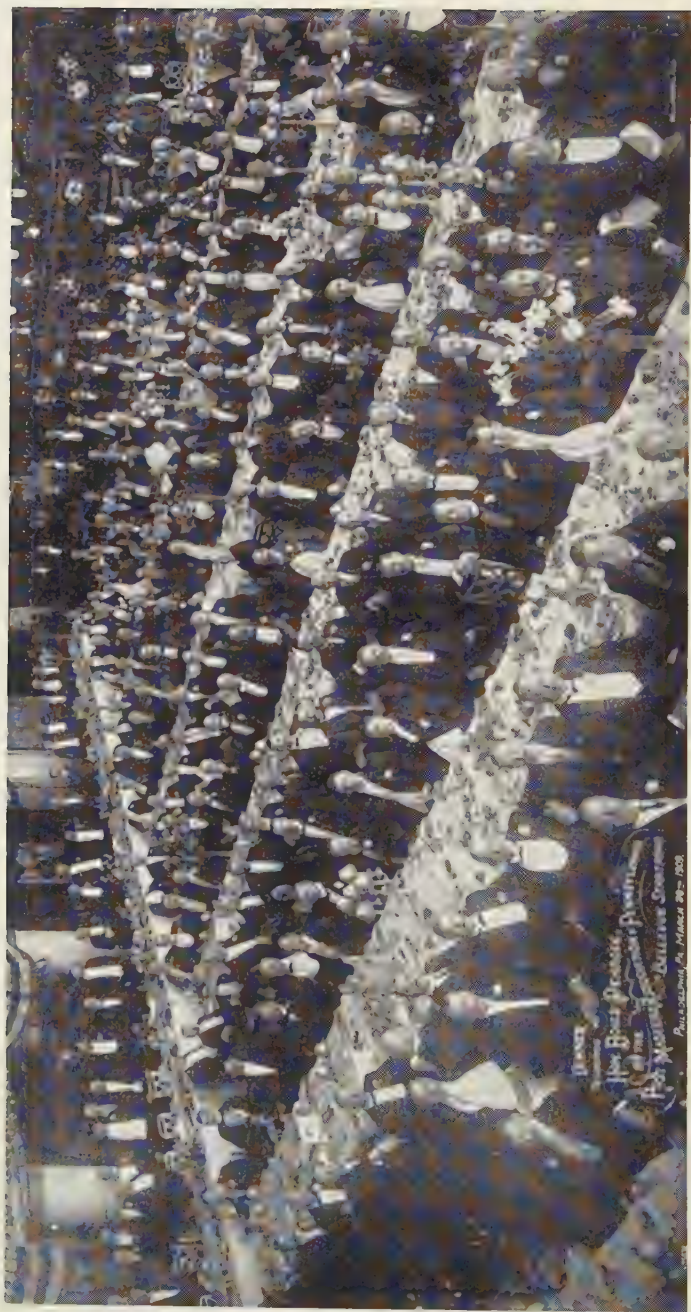
vue-Stratford hotel in Philadelphia in honor of Senator Penrose, then chairman of the important Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads and also of the Joint Postal Commission. There were present as special guests the Postmaster General and other officials of the Post-Office Department at Washington, several United States Senators and other distinguished public men. Some weeks before the big event I had been invited by the committee arranging the dinner to make the address on behalf of the postmasters in greeting the guest of honor. Not feeling equal to the occasion I declined and was having a thoroughly good time at the head table when the speaking began, never dreaming what was about to befall. Even years later the situation cannot be described adequately by the one most concerned. It will be appreciated by after dinner speakers.

After the customary preliminaries and a few words from the toastmaster, I heard as from a great distance the words: "Mr. Stackpole, one of the founders of the State Association and postmaster at Harrisburg, will extend the greetings of his associates to our distinguished guest, chairman of the Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads!" In the formidable list of speakers my name had not appeared and my surprise may be imagined. It was a trying moment, but I managed to get on my feet and, recovering somewhat from my consternation, indulged in a little persiflage at the expense of the committee which had catapulted me without notice into a place which resembled nothing so much as a yawning abyss.

Thinking how best to meet the wholly unexpected situation, I quickly concluded that a sketchy personal review of Senator Penrose's public career as I knew it might be appropriate and perhaps acceptable. I told of his modest entry upon his legislative work in the House at Harrisburg, his later appearance in the State Senate, his election as United States Senator and his rapid rise to influence in the important work of that body—more



UNITED STATES SENATOR BOIES PENROSE



BANQUET GIVEN BY POSTMASTERS OF PENNSYLVANIA TO SENATOR PENROSE

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especially his superb and able handling of the stupendous job of the great postal service committee which involved disbursement of millions of dollars annually. I also spoke of his intimate knowledge of the one wide-reaching business service of the government and pointed to the fine record he had already achieved in developing the practical interests of the people. Having thus discussed matters and things which seemed proper as to the Senator's relation to the postal service, I turned to his political career, carefully avoiding any feature of his partisan activities which I thought might be distasteful to him. I also went on to describe his rapid rise as a great party leader, illustrating this by reference to the fact that, during the session of the Legislature then drawing to a close, two members of the United States Senate from Pennsylvania had been chosen without a ripple of party disfavor, conclusive evidence of the recognition of Senator Penrose's skillful and harmonious leadership. I declared in this connection that no man could attain such heights of service for the people and his party under the two-party system of our American form of government unless he enjoyed the confidence of both. "In my judgment," I said, "this demonstrates clearly that in the United States the majority rules, and our guest tonight is a living expression of what constitutes the will of the people."

PENROSE'S WAY OF TRUSTING

My friendship with Penrose over the entire period of his public career was not once interrupted. Frequently he talked with me confidentially, and I admit that his frankness of statement during his service in the Legislature, and later in political matters, caused me some amazement. He did not convey the idea that he had told all that was in his mind in any particular situation, but gave me as an active newspaper man his confidence to an unusual degree. He liked to talk freely of political developments, and when we met always greeted me in

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the hearty manner of one friend to another: "How are you, Stackpole! What's new up your way?"

Once he placed trust in a newspaper man he had no hesitancy in speaking freely, but he had the most withering contempt for those whom he deemed unworthy his confidence, owing to lapses which he regarded as unforgivable. Senator Penrose clearly understood the personal distinction between representatives of the press and the policies of their employers. All he expected was a fair deal and truthful statements regarding his course. He never held the correspondent to account for editorial comment at the receiving end of the line. In short, I never found him other than fair as to my newspaper service, and it was my observation that he was too big in mind as body to regard with resentment criticism of his public acts.

THE CURTAIN FALLS

Now that Penrose is dead I am constrained to insert here my estimate of him which was printed in the *Harrisburg Telegraph*, December 17, 1920, under the heading, "Penrose on the Firing Line." He had been dangerously ill, but notwithstanding the nature of his illness he maintained a lively interest in all the problems and developments which at that time were attracting widespread attention of the national leaders. In the late spring of the same year he was desperately ill at his home in Philadelphia, but managed in the midst of his suffering to keep in touch with what was going on respecting the campaign for the Presidency which was then about to start. I was one of the delegates to the Chicago convention of 1920 and with the members of the Pennsylvania delegation assembled at the Bellevue-Stratford hotel in Philadelphia for a caucus. Several times it was reported to us that Senator Penrose was dying, but it was not until more than two years later, after he had returned to Washington and resumed his important duties, that the curtain dropped on his useful career.

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From my *Telegraph* comment to which reference has been made these extracts are taken:

“Senator Penrose has staged a comeback which has been the surprise and admiration of his friends in Pennsylvania and throughout the country. He has wrestled with physical disability under which many men would have succumbed, but notwithstanding intense suffering for a period of months has maintained constant interest in the big things of the nation in this important period of readjustment.

“While rumors of his impending death were floating in political circles and when all sorts of confidential whispers were heard as to the inevitable end of his illness, the Senator was keeping in touch with the various political movements not only in Pennsylvania but in the country at large.

“Since his entry into public life he has been a constant enigma to his political foes. Just when they thought he was down and out he would come back with a snap that upset all their calculations. Senator Penrose is at his best when forced to fight. His best speeches have been made under the prodding of enemies, and while disposed to avoid political controversy he never fails to accept a challenge where the foe is big enough to attract his attention.

“In the old State convention days, it will be recalled by those who have followed Senator Penrose’s career, he was always ready to compromise where no principle was at stake in the interest of harmony, but it will likewise be remembered that his most fiery speeches were called forth by what he regarded as the unfair tactics of his opponents. Men who unconsciously or recklessly invited a dressing down were always wary thereafter.

“Strong in his personal friendships, the Senator has made it a point throughout his political life to avoid even the appearance of ingratitude or lack of appreciation. Many a move on the political checker-board that has surprised present-day politicians has been due to

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some incident of the past involving old-time personal regard or the friendly settlement of an obligation almost forgotten by the beneficiary.

THE CONFUSION OF THE PROPHETS

“Until the general primary succeeded the former method of electing United States Senators, it was seldom that Senator Penrose left Philadelphia or Washington to meet his constituents, but after the uniform primary was adopted he motored to every part of the Commonwealth, meeting the people, and at once realizing what he had missed under the old system. His overwhelming popular pluralities must surprise the prophets who used to say Penrose would never face the people in a general election. He now thoroughly enjoys getting out in the country districts and talking with the proletariat and the peasantry. What was once regarded by some of his friends as a peculiar kind of reserve has long since disappeared. He now is one of the most approachable of men. Despising hypocrisy and double-dealing, he goes right to the heart of things, and because of this fact he is sometimes accused of being a political autocrat. As a matter of fact, he is nothing of the sort. No man so potential in the political life of the nation makes a greater effort to find out what the people are thinking and what they want than Penrose. Nor does he believe for the sake of fleeting personal popularity in adopting every nostrum in the way of reform which is presented to him. He is strongly of the opinion that the people are better served by their political servants when wholesome measures are supported in their interest instead of the fanciful theories which have bloomed so luxuriantly during recent years. Penrose is not a “jiner” in the sense of being a member of many fraternities of one sort or another, but he has for years been identified with the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America and might have been expected to line up strongly with the advocates of the latest anti-immigration proposal in Congress. Instead, he came out with a straightforward statement in

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opposition to the proposed regulation, basing his attitude on the shortage of labor in this country and the need of keeping open the doors for the entrance of all worthy immigrants who want to become American citizens. Also, he believes our present laws are sufficient to keep out the undesirable aliens against whom the proposed drastic immigration law is directed.

AN IDEALIST WORTH WHILE

“Time was when Senator Penrose was not so highly regarded at Washington as he is now, but this was largely owing to the fact that the late Senator Quay was then recognized as the head of the Republican organization in Pennsylvania. It should be remembered, however, that during all of this period Penrose was becoming more and more potential in the party councils. There is no more thorough student of economics than this man who has been so greatly misunderstood among some fair-minded people even in his own State. His work in the Senate has been of the most important character, and today no other member of that great body enjoys to a higher degree the confidence of his colleagues. His mind is almost uncanny in its separation of the wheat from the chaff, and often in a single sentence he will strip away the surplusage of a problem under discussion and bring about the proper action. He cannot abide that sort of idealism which takes no thought of the welfare of the people while promoting noisily theoretical panaceas for all national ills. In short, Senator Penrose has so thoroughly entrenched himself in the good opinion of his countrymen that many who were once his political enemies and critics are now his most constant and enthusiastic supporters, and without regard to party.

“It is because of his strength in counsel that the precarious condition of the Senator’s health has caused widespread apprehension among all who have looked to him as a Moses to guide the people out of a wilderness of inefficiency, theory and hopeless idealism.

“When Senator Penrose came to Harrisburg as a

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legislator he occupied a modest seat in the rear of the hall of the House. During the first session he was a close student of parliamentary practice and the machinery of legislation. Even in the early stages of his public career he manifested a comprehensive grasp of matters of State interest, and those who attempted to camouflage their real purposes by volubility and pretense, soon found that the young Philadelphian was from Missouri and had to be shown. He was never caught napping. Regarded by some of his associates in the House at first as a sort of theoretical high-brow statesman, who had no proper conception of the real business of law-making, they soon changed their minds and gave respectful consideration to his views. At that early day he gave evidence of the thoroughness with which he has gone into every important subject since, often surprising his colleagues in the United States Senate by his intimate knowledge of abstruse questions with which only an expert might be expected to be familiar.

AN ALL-ROUND MAN

“To many who do not know him intimately, Senator Penrose is sometimes regarded as abrupt, indifferent and autocratic, but he is not any of these. Direct in his conclusions, without patience where mere splitting of hairs is concerned, and opposed to what is popularly known as flim-flamming in important things, the Senator is nevertheless generous in his attitude toward men and things, kind of heart and intensely proud of his native State. It is because of this latter fact that he is occasionally embarrassed at Washington by the factional backbiting at home. He feels that these things are trifling of themselves, but they invoke inquiry as to his relation to the leadership of the party in Pennsylvania among his associates at the National Capital.

“A big game hunter for years, a lover of the out-of-doors and physically fearless, Senator Penrose is not the type of man to endure with patience the pea-shooting forms of political attack to which he has been subjected

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more or less. He believes in crushing that sort of tactics without any mercy whatsoever. He is a good listener, but having once made up his mind respecting a course of action he is not easily swerved in any other direction."

Written two years before his death, I believe the foregoing conclusions are substantially correct. Not particularly sentimental, he was nevertheless true to his friends, frank and generous.



CHAPTER VI

THE VAIN ATTEMPT TO REVISE THE CONSTITUTION

PERHAPS the most outstanding feature of the administration of Governor William Cameron Sproul, and next in importance to his appointment of two United States Senators, was the discussion of a Constitutional Convention, which led to the appointment of a commission authorized by the Legislature to revise the Constitution. For years straggling amendments to the organic law had been proposed, and in several instances adopted, but only when various proposals had twice been passed upon by the Legislature, after wide advertising, and submitted to the people for their final word. These were not always approved, and as to a number of proposals the public expressed emphatic dissent. In later years the demand for changes in the fundamental instrument became so insistent that a Convention to frame a new Constitution was almost inevitable. It was the opinion of many influential and able men that unless the piecemeal revision ceased the document would soon become a crazy-quilt of no earthly use in the guidance of the Commonwealth.

But as the time approached for a decision on the proposal to authorize the Convention, there suddenly arose such strong opposition that some other course was deemed advisable, unless the whole matter was to be

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thrown into the discard. This result, however, was not regarded as a wise conclusion of the agitation; so, as a kind of compromise, the Legislature authorized the creation of a Commission to make a thorough study of the Constitution in its amended state with a view to wholesale revision in order to meet the growing demand for such general changes in recasting the fundamental code as would bring it into conformity with modern thought.

CHOOSING THE COMMISSIONERS

Governor Sproul was given power to choose the commissioners and he was not long in announcing the persons selected for this important duty. Among the able men to whom this unusual study was referred to the end that the Legislature might later act on the subject of a constitutional change were Gifford Pinchot, later the successor of Governor Sproul; George Wharton Pepper, later to represent Pennsylvania in the United States Senate; Judge James H. Reed, the able father of United States Senator David A. Reed; Edward J. Fox, a former distinguished justice of the Supreme Court; Hampton L. Carson, the brilliant lawyer, orator and historian, former head of the American Bar Association and Attorney General in the Pennypacker administration; George E. Alter, Attorney General and former Speaker of the House; William I. Schaffer, former Attorney General and soon to take his place in the Supreme Court; former Judges Mayer Sulzberger, John P. Kelly and James Gay Gordon; Francis Newton Thorpe, the famous Pittsburgh historian and authority on constitutional law; John S. Fisher, the successful Republican candidate for the gubernatorial office in 1926; the late William Perrine, for many years editor of the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia; Mrs. John O. Miller and Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton, prominent in electoral reform movements among the women voters, and several laymen, including the author.

On the rather formal organization of the Commission in the Senate chamber in Harrisburg, after the usual oath

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had been administered, it was proposed that the subjects before the body be for the most part referred to committees. This seemed like a star-chamber atmosphere so, as a newspaper editor and publisher, I earnestly suggested that any action which might be construed as secret in any sense would be unfortunate. I held that the people were entitled to the fullest reports of any discussions having to do with a study and possible revision of the fundamental law of Pennsylvania. It was also my judgment, as I explained, that any attempt to suppress the proceedings of the commission would serve only to make more difficult the task that we had undertaken because the men of the press, compelled perforce to get the news hit or miss, in the very nature of the case would be seriously handicapped in fairly interpreting what was proposed in the consideration of changes. I contended also that the Commission needed the newspapers to give the people an intelligent idea of its deliberations that we might obtain the public reactions on the several proposals. Mr. Pepper and others accepted my view of the matter, and it was promptly agreed that every reasonable facility should be furnished the press representatives to cover the sessions of the Commission as fully as the importance of the proceedings required.

PROGRESS IN SPITE OF DIFFERENCES

Throughout the weeks of considerable discussion and study, William I. Schaffer, as chairman, and Dr. William Draper Lewis, as the expert on style and statement of legal provisions, with Colonel M. H. Taggart, the secretary, gave us such capable assistance in every way that the business ran smoothly and without serious friction. Of course there were differences of opinion on various important matters and the cleavage now and then was acutely manifested, but general progress of the work undertaken was unspoiled by serious rifts. Sparks would fly frequently, as when Judge Gordon touched upon certain political phases or when the coordinate powers of

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the executive and legislative departments were involved, but the oral combat never reached the point of an open rupture, albeit on several occasions the debate waxed warm and almost personal.

SAFE PILOTS

Charles H. English, of Erie, was one of two members of the Commission who were regarded as safe pilots in changing provisions affecting municipal government. As solicitor for his city on Lake Erie, he had dealt with all practical problems of a municipal character. John P. Connelly, of Philadelphia, was the other of the pair of city solicitors who contributed much to the threshing out of problems closely associated with the administration of municipalities. Both were vigorous in expression of their views, and as I sat in front of one and behind the other through those weeks of the taking apart and putting together of sections of the great document framed in 1873, it was with mounting admiration I witnessed the matching of two alert and trained minds, each complementing the other and producing upon their colleagues an impression of "now that it is said it is well said." Whatever may happen in the future it is certain that the views of English and Connelly as recorded in the proceedings of the Commission will be searched in dealing with any revamping of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

William I. Schaffer, the chairman—then Attorney General and now a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania—indicated that the act creating the Commission did not constitute the members a body of iconoclasts, but did contemplate an examination of the foundations of the government of the State to ascertain whether these were sound and secure for the coming years of trial and "where in our opinion they can be strengthened."

In the assignment of committees to classify and coordinate the work ahead, I was assigned to Number Four, to which were referred the several articles relating to taxation and finance, private corporations, railroads and

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canals. George Wharton Pepper, later to figure as a distinguished and able member of the United States Senate, was chairman of this committee, and gave to his duties the same energetic and thorough attention which has always characterized his public service.

AN INTERESTING COMMITTEE

Second on our committee was Gifford Pinchot, the famous Forester, whose frenzied controversies at Washington with Secretary of the Interior Ballinger during the Roosevelt administration had attracted attention of the whole country, and who was in 1922 to defeat the candidate of the regular Republican organization, George E. Alter, former Attorney General, Speaker of the House, and himself a member of the Commission, for the gubernatorial nomination.

Others in the Group Four apportionment for features of constitutional study were Judge James H. Reed, himself seriously considered for the vacant seat in the Senate, which he declined, as I have always understood, in favor of his able and combative son; and Thomas DeWitt Cuyler, famous lawyer and railroad executive, whose strenuous efforts as a railroad counsellor in the trying period of the World War are said to have caused his sudden passing away soon after the Commission completed its labors.

Thus I found myself associated in committee work with four men of nation-wide distinction and, being impressed with this shining galaxy of publicists and thinkers around me, I remarked, on the organization of the committee, that as a layman I could hardly contribute much to the sum total of the discussion ahead and that socialistic and undigested proposals—should any be presented—would not appeal to me. My vote would be in the negative in the event of the submission of radical propositions for recommendation to the Commission as a whole.

CONSERVATISM ASSURED

Recently I was told by a mutual friend that this statement of my attitude at the outset was a comforting as-

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surance to Judge Reed, manifestly apprehensive of a breakdown of conservatism in the revision and amendment of the fundamental document. In this connection it may now be told that his own statement of purpose when our committee met for organization gave me such confidence and trust in Judge Reed that I frequently exchanged views with him as one sitting at the feet of Gamaliel, not once suspecting that my brief expression of opinion concerning the work we had in view and my modest part therein had given the eminent Pittsburgh jurist some little gratification. His own fine pledge of his best efforts in what was sought to be accomplished made a deep and lasting impression upon me, particularly as there had been whisperings here and there of certain corporation affiliations and influences that might affect the actions of Judge Reed and others. He may have suspected some such suspicion regarding himself, but as I recall the unselfish and modest statement of his desire to contribute all that he had of his life experience and legal learning to the business in hand, the only memory that lingers is one of the fine American who has given to his State and country an example of devotion and unstinted service for the common weal. It was not so much the substance of what he said that left an indelible impression upon my mind, albeit that was unequivocal and to the point, but the way in which he made clear his purpose to perform a high public duty without any reservation and with a determination to give to Pennsylvania the best that was within his power.

ONE OF THEM

As I sat with my fellow members at that first day's session of the Commission, there was constantly in my thought the impression that, since I was a newspaper man, my colleagues might feel somewhat loath to discuss freely and without reservation certain features of the several important proposals, especially as these trenched upon controversial public questions. It is the sort of embarrassment that results now and then from lack of ap-

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preciation of the relationship of the press to the public and serious problems. There is a failure sometimes to understand the daily training of men engaged in the making of newspapers which necessarily gives them a wider knowledge of the public trend in many situations than may be acquired by those in any other sphere of life.

This did not long disturb me. I was soon convinced that the members of the Commission regarded me as one of them and as certain to respect the ordinary proprieties of such a body in representing other interests as well as the newspaper industry. This attitude was also maintained by my two or three newspaper colleagues.

PUBLICITY DESIRED

It has long been my contention in public and private discussion that close affiliation should always characterize the relations of public bodies and officials with the press for the good of the people whom they serve. Attempts to suppress information proper for the public, and incidental machine-like interpretation of official transactions through appointed publicity agents, tend only to destroy that confidence and support of the people absolutely essential in our system of government.

Newspaper men worthy of the name will not betray the confidence reposed in them by persons in responsible official station, and many successful political leaders, public officials and others prominent in the great enterprises of the United States have found their labors greatly lightened by the earnest cooperation of newspaper workers. This is obviously true, and foolish star-chamber methods and secretiveness concerning matters which are of public import inevitably excite suspicion and breed distrust. Nowadays the intelligent public official and the political leader who really leads finds dealing with the press on a basis of mutual helpfulness their best and wisest policy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OPPOSITION

Checking my recollection with others, my statement in this reference to the revision proposition and the

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attitude of many citizens is confirmed. Opposition developed on the ground that it was not an opportune time, and legislation might be passed which would be destructive of the best interests of the Commonwealth. A great deal of opposition came from the older men, especially lawyers and corporation officials. These were familiar with the Constitution of 1874, the practice thereunder, the cases decided by the Supreme Court, and generally were doubtful concerning a change.

It should be said, however, that favorable comment was made on the personnel of the commission as selected by the Governor. Its deliberations were painstaking and harmonious. The commissioners served without pay and approached the work with an appreciation of the fact that they had an important duty to perform; that a constitution could not be made over night, and that whatever changes might be made or suggested would have to stand the test of time.

When the present Constitution was adopted in 1874 the Workmen's Compensation Board was unknown, the Public Service Commission was a dream, urban, inter-urban and suburban life with its many problems was unheard of, and much that has happened since 1874 was wholly in the future and entirely on the lap of the gods.

WHY NO CHANGE WAS MADE

As the debates proceeded the commissioners were of one mind as to the wisdom of the framers of our present Constitution, who, it was unanimously agreed, had done a wonderful piece of work, and that changes necessary to be made were such only as grew out of the lapse of time. "Each man recognized his responsibility," as one member phrased it in a backward look over the sessions.

As the proceedings drew to a close it was truly apparent that little hope was in sight for favorable action by the Legislature on the main proposition of a Constitutional Convention.

Governor Sproul, however, was rather optimistic that

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developments of an encouraging character were in the offing, as was indicated when he addressed a letter to each of the commissioners requesting an answer as to whether, in the event of a convention being authorized, the commissioner would be willing to serve. His thought was that, having participated in the study of the Constitution with a serious view to amendment, the commissioners might well constitute an important and useful section of the proposed Convention, should this be authorized.

THE PROPOSAL DEFEATED

On June 12, 1923, an act passed by the Legislature was approved by Governor Pinchot, providing for submission to the people of the question of authorizing a Constitutional Convention. In this act it was set forth that the proposed Convention should give consideration to the recommendations of the "Commission on Constitutional Amendment and Revision." It was also provided that the Convention, if authorized, should have power to submit a Constitution as a whole, or separately to the people for approval or rejection. There were to be three delegates from each Senatorial district, these to receive \$1,000 each, traveling expenses, and \$100 for stationery. It was also specified in the plan that with the approval of the people the convention should be held in the hall of the House of Representatives at Harrisburg, beginning in January, 1926, the sessions to conclude not later than August of the same year.

But the voters were not ready for a new Constitution, and in 1924 they turned down the proposition about three to one, the official vote being 329,883 for and 988,442 against a Constitution.



CHAPTER VII

BURNING OF THE CAPITOL AND THE SCANDAL THAT FOLLOWED

ON February 2, 1897, the old Pennsylvania Capitol, erected at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was totally destroyed by fire. It was one of the most disagreeable days of a generation. Sleet and snow and rain were rivals for supremacy. When the fire was discovered it was with the greatest difficulty that the firemen could get near the building, especially as the Capitol grounds were not supplied with fire-plugs. This fact was developed when some Philadelphia newspapers criticized the Harrisburg fire-fighters for inefficiency. If there was any fault to be found, it should have been placed upon the State officials instead of on the firemen.

Capitol Hill on that day was a sheet of glittering ice in the paved sections, and elsewhere the surrounding park was a sea of slush and water. Those of us in the newspaper corps were compelled to get about as best we could while assembling the facts of the spectacular fire and the many incidents associated with the sudden adjournment of the Legislature.

A PERSISTENT FIRE

Before the blaze actually appeared on that memorable day, the odor of smoke was noticed by several members

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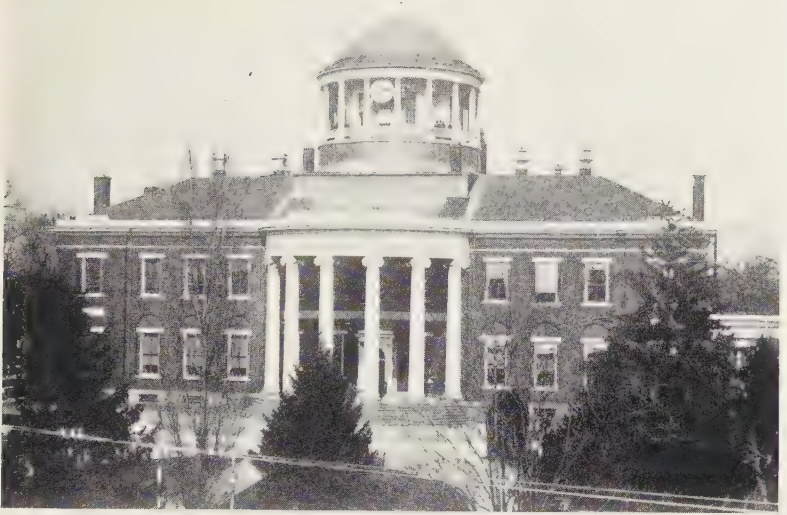
of the Senate, but nobody was seriously concerned. All that was saved from the building were some of the more important records, but many more were consumed. The fire burst forth about one o'clock in the afternoon, in the office of the Lieutenant Governor on the second floor and within less than two hours the building was a ruin. The Senate had taken a recess while committee conferences were being held. In the House the business for the day had been about completed, Charles E. Voorhees as clerk making every effort to clear the day's calendar.

INCIDENTS OF THE DISASTER

A short time after the fire was discovered a fire hose was turned on the flames, but manifestly the concealed fire had been making headway for some time and was soon beyond control. A high wind and a driving snow made the work of quenching the blaze extremely difficult. It was only a few minutes until the roof over the Lieutenant Governor's quarters and the offices of the Department of Education were ablaze. Among the spectacular incidents was the burning away of the supports about the great clock on the dome, which fell into the midst of the inferno, striking wildly as it fell. By this time all hope of saving the building was abandoned, and, so far as possible, valuable books and papers were quickly hurried to places of safety.

The old Capitol was one of the finest specimens of Colonial architecture in the country, and for a time there was a strong movement to restore the building with its original features. At first it was supposed the fire had originated in one of the many wood fireplaces. It was a matter of general comment after the destruction of the building that so little attention was given to the smoke which had been discovered at least an hour or more before the actual blaze appeared.

One of the Senators cut through a partition in the rear of a bookcase in the Lieutenant Governor's room and immediately the flames shot out, showing that the fire had already progressed to a dangerous point. Rotten



THE OLD COLONIAL CAPITOL OF PENNSYLVANIA
Before the Fire of 1897



THE OLD COLONIAL CAPITOL OF PENNSYLVANIA
After the Fire



WHERE THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA MET AFTER THE FIRE
Grace Methodist Church, Harrisburg

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old timbers blazed like tinder. Even as late as one o'clock the Senate was about to resume its session after a recess, but a stream of water came through the ceiling from overhead drenching the presiding officer. This ended legislation for all time in the old Capitol.

Records of the Senate and House were preserved, so that there was no serious interruption of the proceedings when temporary quarters were later established in Grace Methodist Church.

MYSTERY, HEROISM AND SUSPICION

How the legislators and employes who were running back and forth in the rotunda on the first floor beneath escaped when the great scaffolding on the second floor collapsed and crushed everything in its fall, is still a mystery. I was one of those forced through a window of the alcove of the Western Union telegraph office at the south side of the rotunda, near the main entrance, when the temporary falsework crashed. True to the traditions of the craft, the newspaper men on service at the Capitol never once considered their own danger, but continued to file dispatches until the operators fled.

Handsomely framed portraits of various officials were destroyed in the big blaze. Colonel George Nox McCain and James Israel, officers of the Legislative Correspondents' Association, crawled into the burning building at the risk of their lives and gathered up the certified copies of House bills in the room occupied by the newspapermen. These were jammed hastily into a waste basket and the bills were presented to Speaker Boyer, who later made proper mention of this service.

The disappearance of the old State timepiece in the dome led me to place on the topmost pinnacle of the new *Telegraph Building* a large illuminated clock in 1910.

A sensational sequel of the fire was a charge by Rev. Silas C. Swallow, D.D., of Harrisburg, later a candidate of the Prohibition party for President, that the building had been deliberately fired by conspirators to conceal evidences of fraud in the State government. Dr.

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Swallow persisted in his charges, and these were bandied about all over the country.

A TEMPORARY STATE HOUSE

On April 14, 1897, an act was approved by Governor Hastings, setting apart \$500,000, an amount not to be exceeded, for the building of a new State House. This first new Capitol was quickly erected and occupied. Work was begun on May 2, 1898, the corner stone being laid on August 10 of that year. It represented scarcely more than the core of the structure which now adorns Capitol Hill. Indeed it was clearly understood when the building was started that it would merely serve as a makeshift until the more adequate structure was erected.

On the completion of what was facetiously called the "sugar factory," which was a large and substantial structure of two stories, steps were taken, under an act of July 18, 1901, approved by Governor William A. Stone, to give Pennsylvania the magnificent pile which now houses most of the State officials and the Legislature. In this second act an appropriation not to exceed \$4,000,000 was set apart and the Governor was authorized to appoint four citizens who with himself should constitute a Commission to erect the building. This commission performed its duty so well that there was not even a breath of scandal.

Amid the smoke of the subsequent revelations the fact of this first building commission's admirable work was often overlooked and frequently confused in the wholesale criticism.

GRAFT SCANDALS

A startling sequel of the restoration of the Capitol was the exposure of enormous graft in connection with the furnishing and equipping of the great structure. If the actual burning of the old Colonial building was spectacular, the incidents which followed on the trial of faithless officials were even more thrilling. Many sensational incidents characterized the trials, able lawyers having

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been retained on both sides. All the defendants were convicted, but appeals were quickly taken to the Superior Court. These were later turned down.

Always has persisted a widespread belief that the legal net did not catch all the fish in the golden stream; that those found guilty of malfeasance in office and conspiracy to defraud the Commonwealth were to some extent vicarious sacrifices for others back of the scenes. If this were so, the tracks of the undiscovered culprits were well concealed, although the State was represented by astute lawyers and clever detectives. These raked the suspected area thoroughly and with no favoritism or thought of leniency.

GOVERNOR PENNYPACKER'S FAITH

Of course, Governor Pennypacker came in for a lot of private and public censure. He should have known, if he didn't, said his critics, that the State was being plundered in furnishing the imposing pile raised to the glory of an imperial Commonwealth. He was blamed for not seeing what was going on under his nose, these critics not giving him credit for anything save an overweening pride in Pennsylvania. They may have been convinced through the later trial disclosures that it was possible for the Governor to have been deceived; that lynx-eyed detectives were compelled to exercise their ferreting skill to the limit to bring all the facts to light. But there is no record of any such admission in favor of the Governor so far as I have any knowledge. It is easy in the face of accusation and one-sided statements to start an avalanche of public criticism, but I have long since found that the mob, as in the Roman arena, is usually ready to shout "thumbs down" rather than extenuate in any degree the circumstances of an offense against law.

Until the end of his life I think Governor Pennypacker was honestly persuaded that the Capitol graft cases had been greatly exaggerated in the public thought. He later came to me to offer his side of the story then in course

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of preparation and it was agreed between us that the *Telegraph* should have the opportunity of first publication of his views, but through some misunderstanding or otherwise this story was given out in Philadelphia before the copy reached Harrisburg. The Governor was particularly severe as to certain phases of the trials.

No man more loyal to his State than Governor Pennypacker ever lived, and it is my judgment that he did not even suspect wrongdoing. He always had the courage of his convictions and discovery of crookedness would have been punished without the slightest fear so far as he was concerned.

THE BUILDING ERECTED WITHOUT GRAFT

With respect to the millions expended in building and furnishing the Capitol, there has always been strong resentment among Pennsylvanians over wholesale ridicule and criticism by those living outside our borders. These calumniators of the State either do not know the facts or deliberately misrepresent what happened. It should always be remembered to the credit of the commission charged with the construction of the great building that the structure was erected within the appropriation authorized by the Legislature, and that almost \$100,000 of a balance was unexpended and returned to the general fund. The total cost of construction of the main Capitol building as it now stands was practically \$4,000,000, but the grand total, including cost of furniture and equipment, and the Abbey and Oakley paintings, was \$11,033,400.89. It is a larger building than St. Paul's Cathedral and longer than Westminster Abbey, according to Dr. George P. Donehoo, an accurate State historian. I am reliably informed by the Superintendent of Construction that the Capitol building alone could not now be erected for three times its total cost.

"CUBIC FOOT" MEASUREMENTS OF FURNITURE

In the furnishing the cupidity of certain State officials found expression. Such was the temptation that the imagination of the architect and others having to do with

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the decoration and equipping of the magnificent headquarters of the State government ran riot. All manner of ingenious devices were resorted to for the justification of excessive costs. Exclusive patterns of this and that, royal conceptions as to design and treatment of lighting fixtures, splendid carved things, luxurious rugs of unparalleled size, and reckless disregard of expense in every direction characterized the whole program. Chairs and tables were constructed on the basis of the cubic foot, and the public prints found much of the humorous in this method of ascertaining costs. But it was not until the storm burst in the gubernatorial campaign of Governor Stuart that the public began to hear about the wholly unsuspected looting of the State. This was a body blow for Governor Pennypacker's successor, but he met the charges in the earnest and courageous fashion that marked all important decisions thereafter in his administration. It must be said to his everlasting honor that he never once flinched in the performance of a disagreeable duty. He promptly restored the shattered confidence of the people in the administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth and made an admirable record in office. If Governor Pinchot was confronted with "cleaning up the mess" on assuming the gubernatorial place in January, 1923, what may be said of the kind of predicament that faced solution by Governor Stuart!

In the trials that followed in the Dauphin County courts and which have special State jurisdiction, the chief defendants were John H. Sanderson, charged with conspiracy to cheat and defraud the State in the furnishings contract; James M. Shumaker, Superintendent of Public Grounds and Buildings; William P. Snyder, Auditor General; William L. Mathues, the State Treasurer, and Joseph M. Huston, the architect and designer of the building.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE GRAFT TRIALS

It was alleged in the indictments against the officials concerned that they had entered into a conspiracy be-

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tween and among themselves and with divers other persons to cheat and defraud the Commonwealth. On the trial there was much legal quibbling between counsel and it was a strenuous legal battle to the end. Among the lawyers for the Commonwealth were Attorney General M. Hampton Todd, James Scarlet and J. E. B. Cunningham, now a member of the Superior Court.

For the defense were Lyman D. Gilbert, a former Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania; W. I. Schaffer, now a member of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; W. U. Hensel, a former Attorney General of the State, and C. H. Bergner, a prominent lawyer of Harrisburg.

Senator John E. Fox, now a Judge of the Dauphin County courts; P. F. Roethermel and also John Fox Weiss, District Attorney of Dauphin County, were likewise associated with the prosecution. Harry S. Calvert, of Pittsburgh, a newspaper man, was on the side of the Commonwealth as a special investigator.

THE STRANGE "PER FOOT" BASIS

During the trials it was alleged that the architect without specifying items filled these in from Sanderson's bills with no real attempt at verification. Previously the Board of Public Grounds and Buildings had directed by resolution that payments should be made upon the certificate of the architect alone. This gave him wide latitude. Sofas, oblong tables, oval tables, round tables, square tables, clothes trees, all specially designed, were billed on the "per foot" basis, largely in excess of the prices scheduled in the contract. In one bill there was an excess charge of almost \$20,000. Warrants were alleged to have been drawn for payment of bills before the architect certified to their correctness, and these were said to have been accompanied by sworn affidavits.

It was testified on the trial that Huston went to Europe and left signed certificates in his office for use during his absence, a subordinate attaching these to bills without the architect's scrutiny. This was one of the sensational

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incidents of the trial and was made much of by the newspapers at the time.

Lawyers for each of the defendants fought hard for his particular client and without regard to the whole group of defendants. For Sanderson it was contended that he had the right to charge \$18.40 for each foot of finished surface. This point was turned down in the argument. Much of legal wrangling characterized the trials over the square and lineal foot measurements of furniture, and the jury was particularly charged by the court to consider whether the "per foot" scheme of billing should be applied to furniture. It was also pointed out that there was a woeful lack of uniformity in charging articles under the same schedule item of headings.

Huston as an architect was granted what in law is called a severance and was not tried jointly with Sanderson, Snyder, Mathues and Shumaker. One of the witnesses testified that Huston had nothing to do with measurements or with the item numbers in the bills. After a long and exciting trial, which attracted great public interest, the defendants were convicted. In addition to being fined, each was required to pay the costs of prosecution and be imprisoned two years. It was felt that the real punishment was not the conviction itself, but incarceration in prison of men prominent in the public eye.

PROTESTS AND OPINIONS

It ought to be said for Governor Pennypacker that he discovered late in 1905 the enormous expenditure already incurred in fitting and furnishing the Capitol under the contract. Thereupon Huston demanded of Sanderson a reduction in the rates which he was charging for furniture. It was pointed out on the appeal that this demand was because of the Governor's protest.

Much of vagueness was alleged as to a contract admitting of such extreme irregularities, and it was demonstrated that the rates charged under the "per foot" rule were many times greater than the Commonwealth had reason to believe legally due. Obscure terms in the pro-

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visions opened the door to fraud. It was brought out that Huston as architect had advised the Board of Public Grounds and Buildings, Governor Pennypacker being present, that the probable cost to the State of all that Sanderson would furnish under the contract would be from \$500,000 to \$800,000, whereas he was paid under its terms \$5,376,308.52.

Judge Porter rendered an opinion affirming the judgment of the Dauphin County court, and ignored the charge on behalf of the defendants that the lower court gave greater prominence and comment to the evidence submitted by the Commonwealth than to that submitted by the defendants. He held that the case was "ably and impartially tried." Counsel for the defense frequently objected that offers by the Commonwealth "were incompetent, irrelevant, immaterial and inadmissible."

A GOOD INVESTMENT

Pennsylvanians who know the circumstances stress the point that when critics outside and inside the State throw mud at Pennsylvania for an alleged \$13,000,000 expenditure, which they say was largely graft, they give no credit whatever for the original cost of what is known as the Hastings Capitol (\$500,000), the return of almost \$100,000 of the \$4,000,000 appropriated for the present Capitol, and the reasonable cost of the furnishings and equipment. These important items, deducted from the grand total, demonstrate how utterly unfair were the widely disseminated stories of the Capitol graft. It has been said that the stately building, with its furnishing and decoration, could not today be replaced for thrice what it cost, graft and all. While the scandal was at its height thousands of visitors thronged the building, chipping bronze pieces and beautiful woodwork to find alleged putty and other false features, but without success.

SORROW FOLLOWS THE GRAFTERS

Tragedy followed tragedy in close succession on the heels of the Capitol graft disclosures. One defendant

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after the other succumbed to the Grim Reaper either during the trials or after conviction and pending appeals to the Superior Court. Sanderson, the chief furnishings contractor, through whom most of the graft seems to have filtered into other hands, was a victim of Bright's disease. State Treasurer Mathues died of pneumonia a few weeks after his conviction. Snyder served his sentence of imprisonment and later succumbed to the terrific strain of his disgrace. My impression is that all have passed away except the architect, Huston.

The net loss to the State through the furniture manipulation was approximately \$4,000,000, but the gross loss disclosed on the investigation and trials of the several defendants was \$5,600,000. It appears that the actual contractors received about \$1,400,000, the difference going to the conspirators. After the criminal proceedings were ended the Commonwealth under Attorney General Todd considered the institution of equity proceedings to recover the money stolen. Subsequently there was repaid to the State from a common pool by those concerned \$1,500,000. Of this amount \$800,000 is said to have been salvaged from the Sanderson estate.

FRANTIC EFFORTS OF CONSPIRATORS

During and preceding the trials the telephone wires were tapped in all directions by those interested in uncovering the plans of the Commonwealth. Manifestly every effort was made to choke information that might have been helpful to the Commonwealth in the prosecution. But the conspiracy was too deep, the strands too tangled and the trail too carefully concealed to effect a complete disclosure. There was much talk, of course, and many hints as to guilty persons, but these never got farther than gossip. There was one mystery man in the whole transaction. He escaped the meshes of a skilfully-handled dragnet; the probers not being successful in bringing him into the open. There were stories also of alleged exemption from prosecution for those who were willing to give their testimony regarding the conspiracy.

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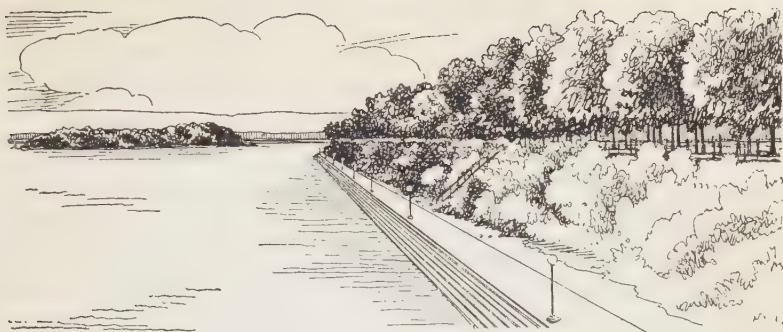
But the triangular graft machine always covered one factor having to do with the distribution of the \$4,000,000 excess charged for the furnishings.

HOW THE GRAFT WAS DIVIDED

I have been told that the method of procedure between Snyder and Sanderson involved the mysterious unknown. Auditor General Snyder, according to the plan outlined to me, in carrying on the conspiracy would first advise Sanderson that he was on the way with another State warrant, whereupon Sanderson would draw from his private funds the necessary cash and turn it over to the mysterious third party who then handed him the warrant in exchange. Thus the clever triangular scheme worked to the satisfaction of all concerned. Who acted in the actual cash disbursement never appeared in the trials, but when these ended the equity proceedings were instituted with the result stated.

Sanderson is understood to have received fifty per cent of the graft. The other half went to the undisclosed third party for division among his partners.

One of the defendants, an auditor in the Auditor General's department under Snyder, boasted to the home folks in a certain interior county—exhibiting a handsome gold watch and chain—that he had received these for his accounting in the Capitol transactions. Later he was confronted in court with the persons to whom he had told of the watch presentation, and suddenly became insane.



CHAPTER VIII

THE BRILLIANT STATE SENATE OF 1883

MY arrival in Harrisburg early in January, 1883, was coincident with the departure of Henry M. Hoyt as Governor. He had been responsible for much of the factional trouble in the Republican ranks, but it is no secret that Senator Quay had contributed to his nomination as Governor. This was about the time that Quay, as a lieutenant of General Simon Cameron, was beginning to preen himself as a recognized leader. There had been so much doubt about Hoyt's election that General Cameron is said to have remarked to Quay, "Now that you have done the nominating you must do the electing." Immediately Quay resigned as a member of the cabinet under Governor Hartranft and took the chairmanship of the State Committee. He was intimately familiar with the details of political organization and in his editorial work as the responsible head of the *Beaver Radical* largely influenced political sentiment at that time. As a result of his interest in the Hartranft campaign he was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth and later was reappointed by Hoyt to the same office, which he had filled with marked ability.

George J. Brennan, in his always chatty and interesting political comment in the "Who's Who" column of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, says that Quay was a thorough

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campaigner and credits him with the declaration that "pussyfooting gets no one anywhere in politics." There can be no doubt on this point in the minds of those who have watched the political whirligig in Pennsylvania. Always, however, there is a class of politicians who imagine they deceive the people by camouflage and a certain assumption of wisdom, but for the most part their activities are as transparent as the air. Hoyt was possessed of great versatility and much ability. My rather hazy recollection of his service as Governor leads me to believe that he was responsible for a good deal of the outbreak that gave the Republican party trouble without end during the decade between 1880 and 1890.

COURTESY IN THE SENATE

During the notable session of the State Senate in 1883 there was manifested from beginning to end that courtesy which is always to be found among able men in a parliamentary body, but often close to the surface was much of partisan feeling which threatened now and then to burst through into an open flame of rancorous debate. Such men as John Stewart, later a Justice of the Supreme Court; James Gay Gordon, later to go on the bench; William A. Wallace, formerly in the United States Senate; Thomas V. Cooper, A. J. Herr, John G. Hall, Amos W. Mylin, George Ross, Colonel L. A. Watres, Simon P. Wolverton and men of like mental stature, are not of the sort who demean themselves by trifling and puerile tactics. They just naturally avoided the rough-and-tumble performances that have occasionally disgraced other deliberative bodies. It must be remembered, of course, that Governor Pattison had been brought into his high estate as the head of the administration by the aid of Stewart and others of the independent Republican group then in the Senate.

AN OUTSTANDING SESSION

Newspaper men are naturally students of character, and I have yet to hear the first one fail to concur in the

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general judgment of his fellows that the Senate of 1883 was easily the outstanding leader of the upper branch of the Legislature since the foundation of the State government. It will be recalled that throughout the session there were many humorous incidents arising from the natural effort of Cooper and other regular Republicans to place not only the Democrats at a disadvantage, but also their independent allies under Senator Stewart. Cooper was easily at his best in this particular session, and had he retired at the end of his term would have left a reputation for keenness of wit, ability and tact in debate such as no other of his colleagues could have surpassed. Throughout the session the galleries were usually filled with spectators who seldom were disappointed in what transpired on the floor. One of the delightful features of that particular session was the courtesy and urbaneness of Chauncey Forward Black, the Lieutenant Governor, who had much to do with maintaining the atmosphere of good fellowship which pervaded the chamber most of the time. A whole volume might be written of what went on from January, when Governor Pattison was inaugurated, until the end of the extra session which he summoned at the close of the regular sitting to compel the Legislature to reapportion the State, a quite futile effort.

In the House, across the main rotunda of the old Capitol, similar political backfiring was a feature of the daily meetings. John E. Faunce, of Philadelphia, was the Speaker, and, as the House was Democratic, the situation between the two bodies was interesting. Always there was skillful partisan maneuvering.

Among others in the Senate at this period was Lewis Emery, conspicuous later in an independent movement for Governor. He never succeeded in overturning the Republican forces, but he gave the regulars a lot of trouble. His particular job was fighting the Standard Oil Company and in this drive he had some assistance in both the Senate and House. Others from the oil region

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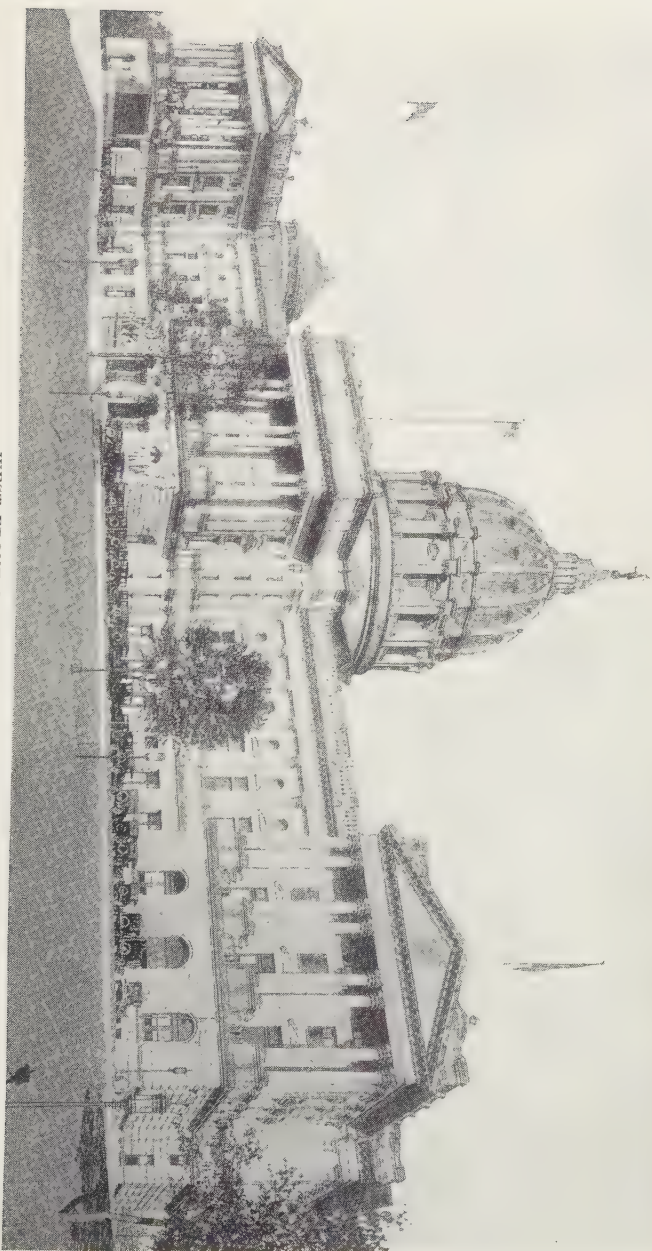
were Senators Lee and Hulings, both hard-fisted scrapers, who rejoiced in baiting the big oil octopus.

PROBES AS A STAGE SETTING

In every important political contest of which I have knowledge the Legislature was generally expected to stage the performance with all sorts of more or less insincere measures. Always the minority played to the galleries with so-called economy bills and no stone was left unturned in making the going hard for one side or the other. There were investigations, of course, but none of these got anywhere. They included inquiries into things which disappeared from the Capitol clandestinely and without apparent authority, but when the matter came to a serious probing by a committee of the Legislature it was developed that most of the scandal was hearsay and of no importance. All sorts of more or less prominent individuals were summoned before one or more of these committees and a sensational investigation followed charges of the old Philadelphia *Press* affecting certain of the Capitol Hill officials. Senator Emery was chairman of one of these probing committees. He summoned a considerable number of important newspaper editors and owners in Philadelphia, including Colonel A. K. McClure, Charles Emory Smith, Colonel James H. Lambert, and others to tell what they knew of the charges. These probes were a sort of stage setting for the political drama which had a long run during the Pattison decade.

Early in June the regular session was adjourned *sine die*, and on June 7, the next day, I think, the Legislature was reconvened by the Governor in extraordinary session. On the opening day Senator Cooper declared that the Legislature had been called for a special purpose, and he intimated that confirmation of appointments or anything of that character would be out of order. This led to the usual partisan debate and with other questions was referred to Senator Laird of Westmoreland, the constitutional authority of the body.

WEST FRONT OF THE STATE CAPITOL



Presidents Pro Tempore.



of the Senate of Pennsylvania, 1873 to 1923.

G. H. CUTLER Jan. 5, 1875	ELISHA W. DAVIS 1875—1876	J. C. NEWMYER 1876—1877	T. V. COOPER 1877—1878
JOHN LAMON June 6, 1879	WM. J. NEWELL Jan. 4, 1881	HUGH McNEILL June 9, 1881	
ANDREW J. HERR 1878—1879			J. E. REYBURN Jan. 2, 1883
AMOS H. MYLIN 1883—1885	GEO. H. SMITH 1885—1887	JOHN C. GRADY 1887—1889	BOIES PENROSE 1889—1891
L. P. S. GOBIN 1891—1893	C. W. THOMAS 1893—1895	S. J. McCARRELL 1895—1897	D. S. WALTON July 1, 1879
JOHN M. SCOTT 1901—1903	WM. C. SIROUL 1903—1905	CYRUS E. WOODS 1905—1907	WM. P. SNYDER 1899—1901
WM. E. CROW 1909—1911			A. E. SISSON 1907—1909
			E. E. BEIDLEMAN 1915—1917
GEO. M. WERTZ May 25, 1911	D. P. GERBERICH Jan. 7, 1913	CHAS. H. KLINE 1913—1915	
C. J. BUCKMAN 1917—1918	F. E. BALDWIN 1919—1921	T. L. EYRE 1921—1923	J. G. HOMSHER June 14, 1923

THE BRILLIANT STATE SENATE OF 1883

It was held by such men as Senator Wallace that the reconvening of the Senate did not change its status to consider legislation. Apportionment bills were introduced, and then the long siege on Capitol Hill began, the Democrats insisting upon their apportionment schemes and the Republicans opposing them as unfair. It was December 6 when the disgusted and tired legislators, having accomplished nothing, adjourned and returned to their homes.

THE SORROWS OF A SPECIAL SESSION

Under the law the members were supposed to be entitled to \$10 a day during a special session, but Representative Al Crawford, of Philadelphia, when a veto of the Governor of an item of \$457,414 to pay the cost of the special session came up, made several speeches in support of the veto. He called attention to the fact that the Legislature had placed itself on record not to take pay for the ten days' recess, and he didn't think members were entitled to pay on Saturdays or Sundays, or any other days when sessions were not held. He thought Governor Pattison was sound in cutting out a part of the compensation claimed by many of the members. He appealed to the House to stand by the Governor and declared they would not assent to a bill that gave 182 days' pay for 90 days' work.

Thus the inglorious special session ended, but, unless my memory fails, Crawford in a later session was reimbursed after his earlier refusal to accept the money to which he believed the lawmakers were not entitled.

A SIMPLE INAUGURAL

As the sixteenth of January drew near there was intense interest in what the Governor-elect would have to say, especially in view of the fact that the incoming executive was known to have rather Jeffersonian ideas of simplicity concerning those engaged in the public service. He didn't want any show on his induction into office, nor would he consent to an elaborate ceremony. Rev. Thomas

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H. Robinson, D.D., pastor of the Market Square Presbyterian Church in Harrisburg, offered the inaugural prayer in which he appealed to God to "enrich him [Pattison] with the knowledge of what he ought to do and be; keep him faithful to the solemn vows of this hour; imbue his heart with that Christian patriotism which takes pleasure in the highest welfare of the whole people; strengthen and defend him according as he trusts in Thee." Concluding the eloquent preacher said: "Reverently fearing Thee, may he never fear the face of man and permit him to reach the close of an able magistracy honored of God and beloved by all the people." Those who recall the distinguished preacher understand what import these words contained.

On taking the oath of office, Governor Pattison delivered a brief address in which he indicated the policies which he would follow, declaring, among other things: "I adopt as of direct application to the present time a sentence from President Jackson's first inaugural in which he said, 'The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of executive duties in characters too legible to be overlooked the task of reform.' " He then went on to outline what the people were expecting of him in the way of abolition of needless offices, fixing compensation for public services, rigid accountability in the expenditure of public monies and raising the efficiency of the civil service. Throughout the inaugural ceremonies, which embraced the induction into office of Chauncey F. Black, the Lieutenant Governor, a man of great personal popularity and charm, there was widespread good will among men of all parties and a disposition to start the session without much bickering.

THE VICTOR AND THE SPOILS

It was realized, however, on all sides that to the Democrats belonged the spoils, and the Republicans gave no evidence of political rancor. When the Senate came to the confirmation of Lewis C. Cassidy, of Philadelphia, as Attorney General, the placid surface was disturbed by

THE BRILLIANT STATE SENATE OF 1883

Senator Kennedy, of Philadelphia, who voted in the negative because, as he explained, Mr. Cassidy "had been disreputably connected with our party politics." He further declared that Cassidy was the beneficiary of legislation created to provide "for the needy of both political parties." He suggested that the "Attorney General of this Commonwealth, like Cæsar's wife, should be above suspicion." He added: "I do not desire to question individually any member of this chamber to discover that the gentleman whose name is now before you is above suspicion or not." He then proceeded to lambaste what he called the political integrity of Cassidy and pointed out that Governor Pattison in his public utterances had insisted that public offices were public trusts to be executed for the benefit of the governed. He concluded in these words: "I vote against it [confirmation] because I will not sit here in this chamber feeling as I do that the patronage of this administration is being distributed for the purpose of pleasing a leader by which one ambitious man may climb into power, without entering my earnest protest against it."

This was the first bomb hurled by the fiery Kennedy against the Pattison administration, but his protest against Cassidy was of no avail, all the other Senators voting in the affirmative for confirmation.

ORGANIZING THE SENATE

On the organization of the Senate of 1883 there was still overhanging the chamber the atmosphere of the Republican factional warfare of the year previous. Democratic and Republican regulars submitted their slates for officers of the body and the Republican insurgents likewise presented a slate of their own. Frank Willing Leach, later a personal lieutenant of Senator Quay, was the insurgent choice for secretary, but as the roll was being called his name was withdrawn. I haven't seen Mr. Leach for many years, and he may have died, but it is my impression that he is leading the life of a farmer in New Jersey. He was as keen an observer of

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the political situation as I have ever known, and it is a fact familiar to all who knew the connection of the two men that Senator Quay depended upon him for much of the work of a chief of staff. Thomas B. Cochran, a Lancaster newspaper man, was chosen clerk of the Senate in that memorable year and E. W. Smiley, another newspaper publisher, was elected journal clerk, later becoming chief clerk.

Not since the adoption of the new Constitution in 1873 has the Senate of Pennsylvania been Democratic. Of course, there have been many strong and able Democrats in the upper branch of the Legislature, and these have had a potential influence on legislation, but there has been no actual control outside the Republican party.

FIXING THE TIME FOR ADJOURNMENT

At the opening of the session of 1883, Senator Cooper offered on the first day of the session a resolution to adjourn finally on March 22. There was no objection, and the joint resolution went to the House for concurrence. There Al Crawford, of Philadelphia, objected and moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

"This is not the time to talk about final adjournment. It is all buncombe," he said. But the House concurred by a large majority and thus was established a rule which has been frequently observed from session to session in fixing on the opening day a date for adjournment *sine die*.

On this point it is my thought that fixing the date for adjournment is only an efficient arrangement which compels attention to the business of the session from the start to the finish. So long as the day of adjournment is more or less indefinite members are disposed to rest frequently and take long recesses. Once they realize that the final adjournment date is determined they so conduct their committee work and the discussions on the floor as to make possible clearing of the calendar on the final day.

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Also, it leads to more constructive and intelligent consideration of matters of general welfare. When the final adjournment date is far in the future there is more of log-rolling and disregard of the interests of the Commonwealth.

MORE REMARKABLE MEN

That able group of statesmen in 1883 who have left on Capitol Hill the indisputable record of the most brilliant body that ever convened in Harrisburg were not only able as to mental equipment; they were gentlemen who recognized the polite amenities in debate. It is almost invidious to speak of one without mentioning all. Most of the members were men of the highest American type. Senator William A. Wallace had already served in the United States Senate, and was returned by the people of his district for further service in the Senate at Harrisburg. Associated with him were brilliant lawyers, orators and business men. Each respected the other. I shall never forget the pleasure I had in listening day after day to the illuminating discussion of public questions which often went far beyond the reach of the Commonwealth. Gordon and Kennedy of Philadelphia found in each other a foil for their eloquent forensic efforts. They represented two different groups—one supporting Governor Pattison's administration, the other opposing the administration policies, but both maintaining their Democratic affiliations.

A NEW REPUBLICAN DYNASTY

Governor Hoyt, then about to retire, reported through a committee headed by John Stewart, the defeated insurgent candidate for Governor, that he would communicate with the Senate in writing. He also advised the Senate of the resignation of Matthew Stanley Quay as Secretary of the Commonwealth. Thus it appeared that the mills of the political gods were grinding slowly in the production of a new Republican dynasty. During the period of the Pattison administration the Republicans

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were expected to harmonize their differences, but it is a matter of history that at the end of the Beaver administration which followed Pattison's the latter came back for four years more on Capitol Hill.

In the House, John E. Faunce, of Philadelphia, was elevated to the Speaker's chair, the Republicans having lost control of the lower branch in the factional disturbance of 1882. Speaker Faunce was a man of Napoleonic stature and quite dignified as a presiding officer. On taking the chair, he adjured the members so to employ their time as to warrant an early adjournment and return with an account of their stewardship to their masters, the people, that they might deserve the plaudit "Well done, good and faithful servant."

In the House, as was to be expected in this remarkable political upheaval, the Democrats ruled the roost. A Republican was given no consideration whatever in distribution of the loaves and fishes. Democratic control was assured by a safe majority on all the early ballots and no point was overlooked in cinching the rule of the successful minority.

SAFE LEADERS, SANE FOLLOWERS

William A. Wallace impressed all with whom he came in touch as an unusual and safe leader. He was admitted to the bar before reaching his twentieth birthday and we find him in the State Senate in 1862. His seat he retained for twelve years. In the early seventies he was elected to the United States Senate when the Democrats obtained control of the Legislature. Long a party rival and antagonist of Samuel J. Randall, these great Democrats became reconciled during their service at Washington; indeed, at the Chicago convention of 1884 he nominated Randall for the Presidency. Later he served six years in the State Senate, and then it was I learned to know and admire him as one of the great pillars of a remarkable legislative body. It is a matter of history that the Pattison forces under William F. Harrity de-

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feated Wallace for Governor at the Scranton convention of 1890. His death at New York in 1896 closed this useful and able statesman's career.

Other influential and brilliant colleagues of Wallace and Cooper and Gordon were: John G. Hall, Thomas B. Schnatterly, Henry A. Boggs, Eckley Brinton Cox, Lewis Emery, Milton C. Henninger, Joseph P. Kennedy, Harrison P. Laird, A. J. Herr, Simon P. Wolverton, James W. Lee, Jacob H. Longenecker, John E. Reyburn, John Stewart, Charles H. Smiley, Louis A. Watres and a score of others, including the brilliant Ross, of Bucks.

SCRAP LOVERS AND A STOVEPIPE HAT

In the House during this period of political eruption were Charles S. Wolfe and George E. Mapes, both lovers of a scrap in the name of reform and difficult to down in a free-for-all controversy. Mapes was chief-of-staff for Wolfe, the principal instigator of Republican party revolt and who was himself hopeful of a situation developing that would give him the coveted seat in the Senate at Washington. But John I. Mitchell was at last the compromise. Wolfe dropped dead at the entrance to the Capitol grounds while returning from a hurried luncheon. It will have been noted that these were all significant steps leading to the upset of the Cameron rule a few years later. Another marked man was Andrew K. Black, a Dauphin County member of that year. He was a bricklayer, and to this day I can recall him on a high wall wearing a stovepipe hat, which manifestly was regarded as a protection against the heat, on the theory that the present two-gallon hat of the cowboy of the West is a protection against all kinds of weather.



CHAPTER IX

REMINISCENCES OF PERSONS AND THINGS

AN editor meets many interesting persons in the course of his newspaper career. I tell here of some of the men I have known. All newspaper workers by the very nature of their profession make a study of personalities. No phase of my work has been more interesting.

JOSEPH JEFFERSON GOES FISHING

The late Joseph Jefferson came to Harrisburg in the zenith of his great success as an actor and I met him at one of the Harrisburg hotels. He enlisted my aid in preparing for a trout-fishing expedition into the Cumberland Valley. Joshua W. Jones, a former State Printer of Pennsylvania, was familiar with all the retreats of the speckled trout in the various streams near Harrisburg, and through him a trip was arranged for the distinguished actor, who was long accustomed to fishing with President Cleveland and other famous anglers. His was a delightful personality, and every word that he uttered was of peculiar interest to me. Of remarkable versatility, he discussed all manner of subjects with the air of the master.

Jefferson was so unlike the average man that it is not easy to describe his characteristics. His features were

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so admirably suited to the old ne'er-do-well of the Catskills that it was not difficult to see the character he portrayed in the actor's face off the stage.

AINEY AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

W. D. B. Ainey, chairman of the Public Service Commission of Pennsylvania and an authority on the regulatory statutes which control the activities and very existence of the many important public utilities of the Commonwealth, was once a candidate for United States Senator, either while he was still in Congress as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, or after he retired from the House. He wrote me asking such help as I could give in his canvass, but having already pledged fealty to Senator Penrose, there was nothing that I could do in a newspaper or personal way for him. Since that time I have learned to know Chairman Ainey better, and of all the public servants within the range of my observation none has given more of his life and energy to the performance of complex and difficult duties. His is not an enviable position, as in the very nature of the case he is between two fires—the demands of the State and the demands of corporations which seek original franchises or revision and amendment of existing rights.

In view of Senator David A. Reed's red-hot statement recently about the over-regulation, over-supervision and over-interference of government in the operation and development of important utilities, it may become a question in the near future as to whether all such quasi-judicial bodies may not be in for a radical overhauling of their functions. Starting as a sort of check on the transportation agencies, first as the Railroad Commission, and now as the all-powerful Public Service Commission through reorganization and the granting of additional powers, the body has become, as many believe, more of a menace than a help, especially in the taking of jurisdiction over about everything that moves on wheels, including the motor bus and similar agencies.

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But, getting back to Ainey, it should be said that he has displayed a lot of courage in fighting serious physical ailments, and at the same time deciding many perplexing questions.

CHILD LABOR AND ITS PARTISANS

The biennial appearance on Capitol Hill of sincere, if mistaken, extreme advocates of child labor reform leads me to remark that, among the many propositions which have bothered the lawmakers session after session, is that of child labor and its regulation. In this agitation the newspapers have not always spoken the same language. Several times I have opposed certain features of radical measures with which I have not been in sympathy. One of these has to do with boys and girls delivering newspapers to subscribers. The more hysterical of the opponents of such regulations contend that it is against the morals and health of the youth to appear on the streets in this kind of occupation; that it invites serious danger and ought to be prohibited by law. For several years efforts have been made to increase the minimum age of girls and boys thus employed. Many of these protests have come from quarters of the extreme uplift type and unreasonable and burdensome hardships have been attempted in the provisions suggested by individuals and organizations.

Having done all sorts of chores as a little chap, and never having known anything but work, I am not able to persuade myself that carrying newspapers is in any degree harmful, especially in the smaller cities and towns. If there are objectionable features in such employment in the congested quarters of large cities it would seem a simple matter to enforce reasonable regulations without harm to the little business people who are wage-earners through necessity. Many families who realize—as those who would deny such employment to perfectly healthy boys and girls do not—how essential to the family budget are these weekly earnings, are not seeking relief and are,

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in fact, opposed to these mistaken efforts of professional reform agencies. At every session of the Legislature may be found representatives of these so-called reformers with tears in their voices laboring for still more drastic child-labor regulations.

I am speaking now of the newsboys and girls out in the open, helping parents to stem the tide, but would not be misunderstood as favoring such occupational employment for children of tender years as would endanger health or morals. A drag-net provision, however, based on age, would smack so much of paternalism as to cause serious reaction and ultimately do more harm than good.

THE GREAT STONE FACE

Those editors and publishers who attend the meetings of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association will never forget the farewell address of Melville E. Stone a year or two ago. He was one of the great Chicago editors before he became head of the Associated Press. There are few who do not appreciate the man's genius, but above and beyond that is his remarkable devotion to the fundamental tenets of the Fourth Estate. It was an emotional occasion, and more than one present, as in my own case, found his heart deeply touched. Mr. Stone, full of years, addressed the large assemblage of his associates and reviewed in an interesting fashion his career, especially his relation to the Associated Press. If the Great Stone Face on a peak of the White Mountains is an inspiration and help for all who look upon it, surely the face of this human Stone will long be remembered by those who heard his farewell address. It was as if a beloved commander were taking leave of loyal soldiers.

With Kent Cooper, successor to Stone, as the guiding hand at headquarters—himself an advocate of live news and the human interest story—the old "A. P." goes on its vigorous way, the narrator of fact and the film upon which is flashed the happenings of the world around. Cooper has come up through much tribulation. With a nose for news that has no superior, he is building the

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Associated Press upon a Stone foundation that promises tremendous progress and a public service that cannot be overestimated.

WHY HARRITY HESITATED

William F. Harrity, the Secretary of the Commonwealth in the second Pattison administration, was a keen and able man, with a delightful personality, always impressing those about him with his power of analysis and the courage with which he maintained his position on any public question.

When he was under consideration once for the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee, Harrity was considerably disturbed over possible criticism that, should he accept the political job, it might interfere with his public duties in Harrisburg. He asked me how I would regard such a decision. I replied that it was a matter that would not involve serious incompatibility with his duties as a State official; that he had ample time for direction of the campaign without neglecting the routine supervision of his office. He at once declared that my view was exactly according to what he had worked out in solving the problem—that in his judgment the time had passed when any man qualified for such an office could not, through efficient handling of the business, perform the duties of more than one public job. I recall that he accepted the chairmanship of his party, giving to the organization of the Democratic forces the same energy and intelligence that characterized his activities on Capitol Hill.

JOHN G. JOHNSON, THE SUPER ATTORNEY

In looking over some documents and notes to check my memory of certain persons and things I have been much interested in an address made by Hampton L. Carson, of Philadelphia, Attorney General in the cabinet of the late Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, the subject being "John G. Johnson." It is a carefully prepared appreciation, a great memorial, by one of his distin-

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guished associates. All through this address the reader is impressed with the remarkable mental equipment of the intellectual and physical giant who stood so long at the head of the Pennsylvania legal fraternity. Particularly interesting is the statement that Mr. Johnson gave more thought to the assistance of the little fellows in the profession than to any help for the big fish. "No young practitioner ever appealed to him for aid in vain, if any real hope could be seen; no man at the Pennsylvania bar ever softened the edge of defeat for so many young lawyers as did Mr. Johnson. His memory was phenomenal. Lawyers and business men alike were impressed by this."

Another feature of his legal methods was the marshaling of facts in cases years back. On several occasions he came before the courts and, under necessity of urgent trial, put questions to witnesses of an irrelevant nature until such time as he could get his mental forces gathered for the real onslaught. Mr. Carson declares that "he never swept juries by avalanches of words from their composure or by strained and impassioned outbursts of oratory. He owed nothing to grasp of letter or trick of voice. He was bulky and awkward and so high in pitch as to be sometimes shrill. In pouring out his words he was more like a high pressure fire hose than the fountains at Versailles." In this apt illustration he painted a true picture of his famous colleague.

This is precisely the impression which I gained of his legal attacks from the standpoint of a newspaper reporter. He made no effort to gain applause. His real objective was the application of legal principles to the case in hand. He knew by intuition that the court would appreciate his points if the jury did not, but I noted in every instance that he made clear as the sunlight the abstruse legal principles which were pertinent to the case. So he always handled his arguments in such a way as to first convince the court of the correct legal

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position which he had assumed and then persuade the jurors that common sense was back of the law.

MORE PATRIOTIC LAWYERS

I have always regarded as a privilege the opportunity during active reportorial days of covering cases in the State courts at Harrisburg. These bring to the Capital of the Commonwealth many of the big guns in the legal world. Among others I recall the late Rufus Shapley, an incisive and sarcastic advocate; George S. Graham, a natural orator, for years and still a member of Congress, representing a Philadelphia district; Lyman D. Gilbert, a trained lawyer who would have been a wonderful diplomat; Marlin Edgar Olmsted, for years a leader in Congress and one of the great lawyers of the country; David Watson, the head of the Pittsburgh bar for many years and a strong and able lawyer; Henry W. Palmer, William Uhler Hensel, Moses Hampton Todd, Francis Shunk Brown, Hampton L. Carson, George E. Alter, John P. Elkin, Lewis C. Cassidy, Henry C. McCormick, John C. Bell, all former Attorneys General, Alexander Simpson, now of the higher court, and others of more recent years. These men and their successors have upheld the highest and best traditions of the American bar, and I count it as one of the most profitable experiences of my newspaper career that these personalities and their legal arguments were impressed upon me while still a young man.

One thing that stands out in my memory is the fact that these great lawyers were moved in their professional activities by a strong and steady current of patriotism and respect for constituted authority. As I regard the present situation in the United States, the press and the bar working with the judiciary have it within their power to instill a respect for law and order which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the ideals of the Republic. "On one occasion," said Mr. Carson, "the great Johnson was fumbling among the papers and exhibits on the table when he was addressing the jury,

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looking for his eye-glasses. 'Take mine,' said his adversary, politely tendering them. With well affected scorn Mr. Johnson exclaimed: 'God forbid that I should look at this case through your eyes.' "

THE PASSING LIFE OF THE FAVORITE SONS

Pennsylvania has had a rather peculiar history in so far as its favorite sons for the Presidency are concerned. Governor Hoyt fell out of favor with the existing Republican dynasty after receiving all its favors and was discarded. Later Governor Hastings was considerably discussed as an available candidate for the White House, but the factional warfare which broke out in the midst of his administration ended any hope in that direction. It was after this tremendous outburst that Governor Hastings, admitting Quay's triumph, sought the privilege of presenting the old leader's name to the St. Louis convention as the State's favorite son. Quay was extolled by the eloquent Governor as a patriot, soldier and hero, albeit a year before the same eloquent tongue was hammering to shreds the political record of the Senator. Next was the Brumbaugh essay into the national arena, which was the last until Governor Sproul, and now many regard Governor Pinchot as having his eye fixed upon the White House. He will probably review with interest Pennsylvania's various offerings of eligibles for the Presidency. A real effort was made to get Philander C. Knox, while he was in the United States Senate, on the Presidential ticket, but, notwithstanding his great ability and eminent fitness, the movement got nowhere, albeit the campaign in his behalf was conducted with real seriousness.

During the nation-wide discussion of James G. Blaine as a candidate for the Presidency, when the attitude of the Camerons toward the "Plumed Knight" was in doubt, it was proposed that General John F. Hartranft, then in his second term as Governor of Pennsylvania, should be endorsed for President in order to hold the

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Pennsylvania delegation in line for the final nominee to be agreed upon.

Many delegations that favored Blaine were thus held to Governor Hartranft until the final break from Blaine to Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. William Perrine, in some comment in the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, agreed with some others of that period that General Hartranft might have been made a successful dark horse if Pennsylvania had been as clever as Ohio in turning the trick, and if the Camerons had not been so intently engaged in downing Blaine rather than boosting Hartranft.

MAJOR RENO AND THE CUSTER MASSACRE

Next to President Harrison, I think the most reticent person I ever tried to interview was Major Marcus A. Reno, the regular army officer frequently accused of responsibility for the Indian attack which exterminated General George A. Custer and his little army sent out to quell a Sioux insurrection. It was after this tragedy that Major Reno came to Harrisburg and spent some time with relatives, his wife having been a Harrisburg girl. He could not be induced to make any comment on the Little Big Horn fight, refusing to discuss details and the charge that the failure of Reno and his force to reach an objective of the Custer movement threw the soldiers into a hopeless situation. It was common talk at the time that the Indian warriors swarmed around Custer and his devoted band and in ever decreasing circles finally shot down every one of the noble defenders.

Major Reno made little effort to defend himself, and was brusque and indifferent when newspaper reporters tried to get his side of the story. He seemed to allow his accusers the field to themselves in the heated controversy. Later there were rebuttals in his favor, several versions of the so-called massacre appearing to the effect that Major Reno did all that any brave officer could have done in the circumstances. Recently a son of one of the Sioux warriors declared at a meeting in North

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Dakota that it had not been a massacre at all, but a fair fight in the open between the Indians and the soldiers. His view was that the Indians had simply protected their villages. Notwithstanding the cloud upon Major Reno's record at the time, he was still a hero to the printers and others who gazed across the street in Harrisburg from the *Telegraph* building's upper floors to his apartments in the old Lochiel Hotel, the site of many political conferences in the days of Cameron and Quay and lesser lights.

Reno himself testified at the court of inquiry in Chicago, which by the way, he asked for himself, that "we were fighting all the Sioux nation and the renegades, half breeds, squaw men and desperadoes east of the Rocky Mountains." He was accused of cowardice, but army experts agree the matters in controversy will always remain subjects of dispute. Later Reno's conduct was endorsed as "judicious and skillful." Major Reno came from a long line of fighters, his father having been Major General Reno, in whose honor Reno, Nevada, was named.

CARLISLE AND GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE

Colonel Charles H. Mullin, the late Cumberland County leader, once promised me to set down his interesting recollections of the invasion of Pennsylvania by the Confederate Army. He had been a warm personal friend of General Fitzhugh Lee when both were young men at Carlisle, where Lee was stationed as a graduate West Pointer before the Civil War. But Colonel Mullin and his intensely interesting recollections were buried together. Among other incidents of that period he told me how Lee, at the threatened outbreak of hostilities in 1860, declared that, having been educated under the flag of the Union, he would never join any resistance to the Washington government if a break should come. But more than two years later Colonel Mullin, returning from Harrisburg, saw the Confederate troops pouring down

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the main highway through Mt. Holly and on to Gettysburg. He asked a soldier who was in command of the brigade that was then passing and was told that General Fitzhugh Lee was the commander. Mullin declared to me that he was so indignant he at once proceeded to Holly Inn, where the headquarters of the men in gray had been established, determined to have it out with Lee. He found General Lee, a dust-covered figure, lying upon the porch with a slouch hat drawn over his eyes to shield them from the sun. "I went over to the sleeping officer," said Mullin, "and taking him by both shoulders, shook him vigorously. He was dead tired, but finally he awakened and at once recognized me. I charged him with breaking his promise to remain true to the Union, and he lamely explained that he couldn't do otherwise; that all of his family and his Southern friends were on the other side. We had it hot and heavy for a few minutes, but I finally gave him a flask of good whiskey and we parted as old friends, he riding on to Gettysburg."

Some years later Governor and Mrs. Hastings and a party of Harrisburgers were guests of General R. H. Pratt at the Carlisle Indian School. General Lee was also a guest. I was seated at dinner on his left. He recalled in a most interesting way his experiences as a young officer at the Carlisle barracks, but probably he never knew how a newspaper attack upon him was suppressed that very day through the purchase of an entire edition by those who did not want the famous fighter from Virginia humiliated. Some Carlisle people have not yet ceased to resent what they believe to have been a lack of appreciation by General Lee of the hospitality which he enjoyed when he came as a spruce young officer to the Carlisle barracks.

CAMERON SPRINGS A SURPRISE

Incidental to the retirement of General Simon Cameron from the United States Senate is a little story which is known to few. President Hayes succeeded Grant in 1877.



UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM S. VARE



WILLIAM UHLER HENSEL
At His Farm in Lancaster County

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For some reason he had declined to reappoint the younger Cameron as Secretary of War, explaining to the Harrisburg member of the Cabinet that he had other plans respecting the war portfolio. But he wanted Secretary Cameron to accept the chairmanship of an important commission which was to be created for the purpose of promoting more harmonious relations in the Southern States. Cameron promptly turned down this proffer, with the remark that he would return to Washington as one of the representatives of Pennsylvania in the United States Senate. This he did, his father resigning that his son might take his place in 1877. The son served for twenty years.

"AN OLD CODGER DOWN THE ROAD"

The late Attorney General William Uhler Hensel spent his summer days on a fine historic place on the main highway east of Lancaster, and there he entertained many in the hospitable fashion for which he was famous. Distinguished statesmen, political leaders, jurists and hundreds of ordinary people were his guests. Many a good story is told of the host, who was a collector of interesting antiques, especially the swinging signs of inns of the pre-Revolutionary period. These he installed at his old farm mansion and found delight in telling their history. It was also his great joy to don a big straw hat of the two-bits variety, a disreputable pair of trousers, a hickory shirt, one doubtful suspender and heavy cowhide boots into which the bottom of his trousers were stuffed. Thus adorned, and chewing a long straw, he sat perched upon the top rail of a fence and surveyed with bucolic satisfaction the estate of which he was master. One day a couple of young bicyclists came down the road in a cloud of dust and being hungry were immediately attracted by an ancient tavern sign over the front entrance of the Hensel homestead. They quickly dismounted, and seeing the Attorney General roosting on the fence, concluded that he was proprietor of the wayside inn. "Say, old

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fellow, we want a meal and are in a hurry," they called to the figure on the fence. "Dinner is over," was the reply. But he encouraged them to insist by his admirable acting, and finally he climbed down with the promise that he would try to get them something to eat. As always, his larder was overflowing with good things, and the feast that he spread for his unknown visitors will live in their memories until time is no more. He listened to their enthusiastic comments concerning the food as he continued to replenish the dishes, and when they were hardly able to get away from the table he passed the cigars. Each helped himself to a handful of a very expensive brand, which they complimented highly. Then they asked for the bill and the tickled host, hardly able to restrain his amusement, inquired with some hesitation: "Would 35 cents be too much, seein' it wasn't a reg'lar dinner?" The young fellows agreed that the price was all right and rode away. On arriving at Lancaster, they told of the cheap and excellent meal they got from "an old codger down the road," whereupon their friend ejaculated: "My heavens, that wasn't a tavern! You ate at Attorney General Hensel's table. That's a fine joke on you chaps!"

Hensel told this story with much gusto and with fine flavor. His country home is known as "Bleak House."

George W. Hensel, Jr., is a brother of the "old codger down the road." He is a clever writer, a banker, a merchant and a leader. The whole family is fortunate in its ancestry, but is even more fortunate in its twentieth century representatives. George Hensel is not old, nor is he young, but he has solved the trick of eternal youth. It is difficult to paint his picture in words. People must know him to appreciate his many fine qualities. There is only one of him in the newspaper world.

According to one of his neighbors, also a newspaper man, Hensel has a larger acquaintance than any other person in Lancaster County. This has come largely through his attendance at national political conventions,

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historical meetings, the Pennsylvania Society of New York City, and similar gatherings. He has a personality all his own, and he gets a lot of fun out of life. He is a humorist without the suggestion of a sting and is the founder and originator of the "Slumbering Ground-hog Lodge," a remarkable social organization. This meets once a year in secret session for initiation ceremonies, on Ground-hog Day. He has also found time to set on foot an "Old Fiddlers' Association," which holds an annual convention "to fiddle and dance and make merry." He is also president of a bank, writes a column for the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, and tickles many readers by his clever skits. His sayings are quoted far and wide and his philosophy is a real stimulant.

RILEY AND NYE MEET THE PHONOGRAPH

During the administration of Governor James A. Beaver his executive clerk, R. F. Cromelin, introduced the phonograph on Capitol Hill. It was then in its infancy and Cromelin was interested as a stockholder of the American Graphophone Company, the parent organization that financed and developed the phonograph industry. About this time James Whitcomb Riley and Bill Nye came to Harrisburg for their dual entertainment, the Hoosier poet reciting his verses and Nye convulsing his audience with droll comment upon current events and a monologue on his own life experiences. They were a remarkable pair of entertainers, and before the footlights they suggested Jeff and Mutt—Nye being tall and bald while Riley was short and solemn. I had the pleasure of escorting them to the Capitol the morning after their appearance at the Opera House. They met Governor Beaver and then succumbed to Cromelin's insistence that they talk into the phonograph for posterity. Both men thoroughly enjoyed the experience of their first introduction to the new talking machine. Riley recited two or three of his poems and Nye discussed in his humorous vein some matters of current interest. These records

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may still be in the possession of the phonograph company. They should be popular now.

PENNSYLVANIANS IN NEW YORK

For several years the Pennsylvania Society of New York, comprising seventeen hundred resident and non-resident members, has been twice a year the meeting place of many prominent writers and newspaper men. The December function brings into elbow touch the leaders of the nation and the outstanding sons of Pennsylvania. It was founded years ago by Barr Ferree. The late Bishop Potter was the first president. For seven years Charles M. Schwab has been head of the society. Before him in the place of MacGregor sat Andrew Carnegie, former Governor Edwin S. Stuart, William A. Clark, the great copper magnate, Colonel Robert M. Thompson, James M. Beck, former United States Solicitor General, Robert C. Ogden and others. Many distinguished persons have been from time to time guests of honor, including Presidents, generals, jurists and men of affairs. The Supreme Court and Governors of Pennsylvania have been similarly honored. Joffre, Foch and Cardinal Mercier received post-war honors and the society's medal. Elihu Root, former Justice Charles Evans Hughes and Samuel Rae, recently retired as president of the Pennsylvania Railroad System, have received special honors. The late Admiral Peary, a native Pennsylvanian, was given a large dinner reception just before he sailed away on his successful quest of the North Pole. The great English publicist, James Bryce, was another distinguished guest. In 1911 a bronze tablet of William Penn was presented by this unique organization to All Hallows Church, Barking, London. Not long ago a wonderful collection of books and documents gathered during many years was presented by the Society to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The guest of honor at the Society's dinner in 1923 was Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, who had just returned after a personal study of European

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conditions. Mr. Mellon is not spectacular at any time, but he is a fine listener and a keen observer. He was not only the guest of honor, but was presented with the gold medal of the Society for distinguished service. Another guest on this occasion was Cyrus E. Woods, the former Ambassador to Japan, who was called upon for a speech and told briefly of what had transpired in Japan at the time of the earthquake. He eloquently recited the part that had been taken by the President, the Army and the Navy of this country. Through this service Japan was shown the real sympathy of the American people. He concluded with these words:

"I have faith to believe that because of this generous work which you did here in the United States in that great calamity, Japan and the United States will ever go marching forward in the front rank of all nations of the earth—in friendship, in peace, in unity, ever keeping step to the inspiring music of the Union."

During the World War the Society provided seven beds for the Neuilly Hospitals in France, in which contribution the associated society of women members participated. One of these beds was named in honor of Col. Robert Mazet, who became secretary and treasurer of the Society on the death of Barr Ferree in 1924. Colonel Mazet, a former officer of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, served in the line in France. He has occupied a large place also in the civic and legislative activities of the country's metropolis.

DEPARTED NEWSPAPERS

A striking fact is the increasing mortality of old and prominent newspapers. These disappear through merger or outright retirement. Himself no more, the newspaper experience of Frank Munsey was one tragedy after another. He appeared to delight in writing the epitaphs of famous journals built up by great men like Charles A. Dana and other contemporaries of the *New York Sun*. He had a mania for tearing down without apparent

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reason the constructive work of others and experimenting with some idea of his own. Maybe I feel more keenly the sinking of the *Sun* than any other of the great sheets that served the metropolis because I was its Harrisburg representative for many years. The New York *Press* also was once on my list, but with the *Globe*, the *Evening Mail* and others it has been sunk without trace.

SURPRISES IN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

One of the most delightful men I have ever known was the lamented President Harding, who prepared the way for his nomination four years before the 1920 convention. As chairman of the great party peace convention in 1916 he made such a favorable impression upon the delegates that at least one-fourth of these delegates returning in 1920 were strong advocates of his nomination. I use the word peace in the sense that the bitterness of the Roosevelt-Taft feud had largely subsided and Harding's tactful handling of the convention which nominated Hughes contributed a lot to the harmony of the occasion.

A similar situation confronted another Ohio man in 1892. Major William McKinley presided with such favor in the Minneapolis Convention which nominated General Benjamin Harrison for the Presidency, that he was himself chosen to lead the Republican hosts in 1896.

Political conventions, like history, repeat themselves. Senator Teller of Colorado and other free silver men bolted the St. Louis Convention in 1896 and flocked by themselves, just as the Roosevelt men left the Chicago Convention in 1912 and set up the Bull Moose independent movement. Of course, the free-silver split was not so disastrous as the party debacle sixteen years later, but the same disruptive factors were present. There was, however, about the free-silver crusade the same hysteria that found expression in the chant at Chicago in 1912, "We want Teddy!" Also, there was in the Bryan "cross of gold and crown of thorns" deliverance

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the same emotional appeal, leading to the gold Democrats cutting loose from the regular party organization. Bryan had among Democrats about the same personal popularity as Roosevelt with Republicans, but there the analogy ceases. Bryan lacked the practical ideals of his Republican prototype, but each continued until the end of his remarkable life to hold the esteem of men of all parties. Both fought for the fundamental religious convictions of the American people, and the fact that both also wore their country's uniform in the war with Spain was an expression of patriotism which was never lost sight of by their countrymen. These popular leaders had tremendous influence with their partisans, Bryan fighting hopelessly but with courage, and Roosevelt holding aloft the emblem of a new revolt against the accepted order, without regard to the effect upon his own political fortunes. And both died in the very zenith of their power as Twentieth Century crusaders, each passing as he slept.

A SCHOLARLY LIBRARIAN

Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, now secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was for several years the State Librarian. His is the book mind without moss that too often gathers upon the trained investigator of literature, ancient and modern. His infectious humor, contagious smile, appreciation of worthwhile literary effort and instinctive appraisal of historical values, have all contributed to the creation of an ideal authority on books and their writers.

COURAGE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Some years ago, when I was traveling through the Northwest, among those whom I met was United States Senator Saunders. He had gone to Montana in the days when law enforcement was unknown; when cowboys and gunmen and hard-boiled citizens generally had no regard for the courts or the legal authorities. He was the United States District Attorney and it was his business

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to bring offenders to justice. When the situation had become so serious that something had to be done Saunders led what was afterwards known as the "Vigilantes." These were men of great courage and knowledge of the West who bound themselves in an organization to rid the country of outlaws who made life and property a joke. Senator Saunders told me on one occasion that he slept on a stormy night in a small shack between two men on the floor of the cabin and heard them tell each other across his prostrate form how they were going to kill him on sight when they found him. It was an unpleasant situation for the head of the law-enforcement group, but nothing happened. In a short time, however, all manner of officials were swinging from tree limbs as were also their co-conspirators among the gunmen and thieves who infested the whole country. It was not long before it was as safe to live in Montana with the doors unlocked as in any other civilized section.

This illustrates what so many of us believe—that all that is needed to restore proper regard for law and order in the United States is for men of courage to stand together against the small minority which represents the criminal element.

THE BLAME FOR THE LAW'S DELAY

Chief Justice Taft has a better insight into the present causes of weakness in the enforcement of criminal law than any other jurist of the country. He has been denouncing delays of the law for several years and believes that much of the blame for the situation in the lax enforcement of the criminal statutes rests upon the courts, the law officers and the bar. He was recently quoted as denouncing the administration of criminal law in the United States as a disgrace to civilization. "A trial of a criminal seems like a game of chance," he said, "with all the chances in favor of the criminal, and if he escapes he seems to have the sympathy of a sporting public." It is coming to be practically the opinion of all who have analyzed the situation that the public is likewise to blame,

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inasmuch as it creates the courts and sustains the many schemes of delay in one way or another. Canada does not suffer in this way, eliminating all technicalities.

GREETING PORFIRIO DIAZ

Porfirio Diaz ceased suddenly in 1911 to be President of Mexico, and his flight toward the coast was accelerated by the bullets of his enemies. These were determined to snuff out his life, but Diaz had not been the leader of our Mexican neighbors for twenty-five years or more without having accumulated some useful knowledge of the disappearing act. It was in the summer of the same year that an American party of which I was a member was making a semi-official tour of Europe. One day, when descending the main stairway of a hotel at Interlaken I encountered on the landing midway a compactly built swarthy man and a beautiful matron. These proved to be Madame Diaz and her husband, the former president, and their son-in-law. I said to the young man:

“A large party of Americans are guests at this hotel and, assuming that this gentleman is President Diaz, I should like to pay my respects to one who has the sympathy of our people in his recent trouble.”

While I have no doubt Diaz understood what I had said in English, our brief interview was carried on through the younger man as interpreter. I told him sympathetically that my countrymen appreciated the great work he had accomplished in promoting good will between the two republics. He was apparently much affected and expressed himself as greatly pleased. Later in the day it was arranged that our party should have the opportunity of extending greetings to the ex-President in the main lobby of the hotel and the late Mayor Robert W. Speer, of Denver, whose brother had lived in Mexico several years, was the master of ceremonies. When the reception was over Diaz was overcome by his emotions and returned to his suite with tears rolling down his cheeks. It was as balm to his broken heart. On

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leaving him I remarked that his own people would soon recall him for further service as their leader; and it wasn't a wild prophecy. In a few weeks such a petition was sent to him from responsible Mexicans, but before the summer had ended Diaz was dead. When we met him at Interlaken, where he was traveling incognito, he seemed in good health and I observed him mount the steps two at a time. His broken spirit was probably responsible for closing his remarkable career.

THE PASSING OF SENATOR LODGE

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge began to pass into the shadows of political leadership at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland in 1924. I found among the leaders and delegates who attended that convention that the Lodge sun had already set; that he was more or less on the sidelines. Some of the resentment toward him was occasioned by his alleged jealousy of President Coolidge. He passed in and out of the big hotel which was the Republican headquarters without much notice on the part of the throng. He appeared to feel his position with the rising to great power of Coolidge from his own State and his own decadence as a national figure. As I watched him skirting the crowds in the hotel lobby with members of his family, I recalled his imperious attitude while presiding over the convention of 1920 which nominated Mr. Harding. On that occasion he was irritable and petulant and hammered the table with the gavel in a manner that indicated inward revolt.

There is a pathos about the passing of great national characters, and I thought I read in the face of Lodge the story of disappointed ambition because of his failure to reach the White House. It has always been a query in my own mind as to how Lodge and Roosevelt ever were able to match minds without a rupture of their Harvard and later friendship. Scholarly and patriotic to the last degree, Senator Lodge was nevertheless the type of man who fails somewhat in the public service because of per-

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sonal views and with no power to compromise on un-essentials.

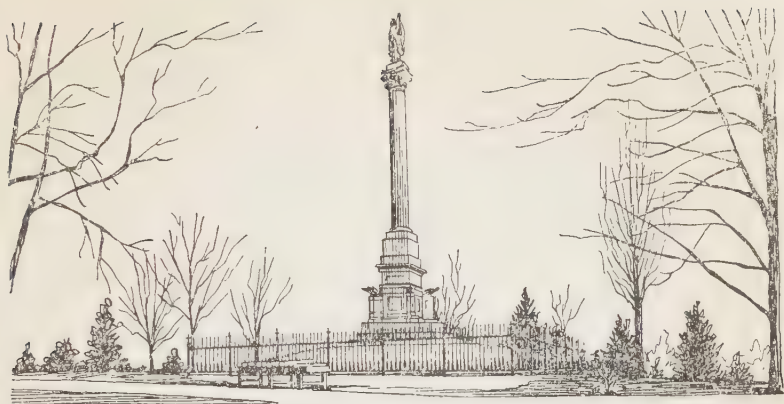
IN THE DAYS OF WOODROW WILSON

As time goes on and one is able to look backward with less of partisan or factional feeling, the start of the late President Wilson as a politician has a greater interest to the average student of political activity. It is remarked frequently that politics makes strange bed-fellows. This was true in New Jersey in those 1910 days when the late United States Senator James Smith was engaged in his effort to nominate Woodrow Wilson, then president of Princeton University, as the Democratic candidate for Governor. In this adventure he was associated with George Harvey, who was always regarded as the discoverer of Wilson, but both Smith and Harvey lived to regret their successful scheming to put Mr. Wilson in high place when he subsequently repudiated both of them. Senator Smith told me the whole story on the occasion of the formal dedication of the famous Tunkhannock viaduct in the northern part of Pennsylvania. He was one of a special group which came on from New Jersey to participate with Governor Brumbaugh and a considerable number of prominent Pennsylvanians in the program of the day. Sitting in one of the private cars with Senator Smith, he was led to relate his experiences with Woodrow Wilson and the later ambitions of the former head of Princeton.

Wilson was in some New Jersey quarters regarded as a decoy or come-on candidate for disreputable Democratic elements in that State, and his ambition politically was not highly endorsed by several trustees of Princeton University, one of whom told me they were glad to get rid of the pedagogic politician. Another prophesied that in the event of his election to high office he would make a fizzle or would break down physically. At the same time he told an incident which illustrated a panicky condition on the part of Wilson when he was to make a report to an

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important denominational body. After he became President it is no secret that Mr. Wilson turned his back on a large number of influential persons who had been responsible for his elevation to the highest office in the gift of the people. Some of these do not now care to admit their discomfiture over this evidence of ingratitude, but sufficient is known to establish beyond any question that he was absolutely selfish in his progress up the political ladder.



CHAPTER X

INCIDENTS AND OBSERVATIONS DURING ONE GENERATION

FROM the press gallery of both Senate and House the editorial periscope reveals a lot of interesting things, but newspaper men are often soft-hearted and do not disclose all they see in the throes of making laws for the people. In the good old days when bribery was often suspected, a certain orator in the House was converted almost in the twinkling of an eye from a violent opponent to an enthusiastic supporter of a bill. He was flailing the air with violent gestures, denouncing and lambasting the bill and its proponents, when suddenly from the rear a little man passed down the aisle and, without being observed, quietly dropped a small package on the desk of the outraged member. In a moment the overheated orator went into reverse after a short skid, and without any apparent embarrassment continued in a different key, saying: "These are the arguments, gentlemen, advanced against the meritorious bill under consideration. But so contrary are they to my own views that I beg the indulgence of this body a little longer that I may present the virtues and merits of a most commendable piece

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of legislation.” Having then argued as vociferously in the affirmative as he had a few moments before in the negative, the alert legislator sat down, but soon thereafter he was seen to leave his place and seek the less public quarters in the rear where he might open and inspect the package dropped in the midst of his forensic effort. It was a specie-ous plea.

A STATE FAIR

For many years, almost beyond the memory of man, there has come up at practically every session of the Legislature a proposal to provide funds for a great State fair. With consistent frequency, however, these bills are shelved or pickled or otherwise maltreated in committee. Of course, there are the usual hearings. I have appeared once or twice myself in support of such measures. But the influence of the smaller county fair, which is a numerous institution in Pennsylvania, is always found in opposition to the exposition idea. From my point of view the State fair is likely far in the distance unless it is established by private enterprise, but this solution may not be so remote.

A PERENNIAL CRITIC

Some years ago there was in the Legislature a gentleman of considerable ability, but with a sharp and controversial tongue. He was given to sarcastic comment on every possible occasion in conversation with his fellow legislators, in public statements and in debate. He gloried in his sharp “unruly member” and in his ability to embarrass an opponent less ready of speech and slower in marshaling his facts. Cocking his head at a slight angle to the right and twirling his eyeglasses between his thumb and index finger, this legislator would impale his victim on a forensic barb and then greatly enjoy the squirming of the object of his attack.

My observation of such men is that they are never popular, but that often they escape reprisal through the fear of their victims, these preferring to do nothing

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rather than risk further assaults. But always there comes a day when he of the sharp tongue goes too far in his sarcasm and trips.

Thus it was with the legislator now in mind. Rising one day in the House to a question of personal privilege he proceeded to castigate, hammer and in every way at his command criticise a representative of the press who had not pleased him in some newspaper story on a public matter. Here was an opportunity, as the legislator figured, to demonstrate his utter fearlessness of the press in general and individually. Having pilloried his various antagonists on the floor, our Goliath now proposed to riddle with invective and ridicule the group which daily reported and interpreted for the people the doings of their representatives at Harrisburg. Forgetting all the kind things that had been said about himself, the sarcastic member sought to pulverize the offending scribe and through him the whole newspaper tribe. When he had concluded there was in his manner the obvious satisfaction of one who had trampled his enemy in the dust.

HOW THE CRITIC WAS CURED

Immediately the grapevine system of communication brought the newspaper fellows into their quarters for a consultation. It was felt that an unjust and wholly unfair attack had been made upon one of their number, and that failure to show their displeasure would doubtless result in a general offensive with the newspaper gallery as the main objective. Several other lawmakers were also quite ready to do some denouncing for imaginary slights and the newspaper men decided upon a course of action at once. They would not abuse the sarcastic critic, it was decided, nor would they make any appeal to the House as a whole; instead they would treat the offender as non-existent, as having ceased to function as a lawmaker. Before he had appeared in the newspaper limelight often, owing to his much speech making, but he would now drop out of all newspaper stories, save as to any vital news which would necessarily involve the use

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of his name. He must disappear from public view until such time as the press workers should agree upon a resurrection of the missing orator.

For a time he pretended to be entirely unconscious of anything unusual, but presently the former much-quoted leader found others mentioned and his own name strangely omitted. It was a drastic measure of reprisal, but the press gallery never once alluded to what was going on. Silence was the word. When the situation became intolerable for the sarcastic and caustic legislator he made overtures which resulted in raising the embargo of the press and the resumption of amicable relations.

NOW THAT WOMEN VOTE

Much of the political transformation of recent years has been due to the entrance of the woman voter and her activities. My own observation leads me to believe that their increasingly intelligent grasp of the situation is bound to result in further realignment of the political forces, particularly in Pennsylvania. Unless certain hard-boiled leaders accept the feminine host as here to stay, and act accordingly, they will awake with a jolt. These level-headed women can't be soft-soldered by the male partisan who has vainly assumed that he can bestow compliments and light party persiflage and get away with it. Watching the Legislature at close range may give the Republican women a new slant on the making of laws, and at the same time disclose to them some of the party weakness in disregarding the almost universal sentiment of the people with respect to tax assessment and collection, and other live questions.

Women voters who are interested in serving the taxpayers will not fail to see the hands of foolish male politicians pulling the strings on marionette legislators. Look out for trouble for the indifferent Republican leaders who, having eyes to see, see not and ears to hear, hear not. Women are learning to stop, look and listen, politically, and each succeeding campaign better fits them for

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the intelligent exercise of the franchise. Larger representation of women in the Legislature is coming. Already women voters of the Republican party recognize the need of leadership, and it is apparent that the party is building up around capable women an efficient and militant machine. It is conceivable that these intelligent and forceful women will be disposed to wait a reasonable time for the male of the species to demonstrate something in the way of real capacity for guidance and in that case cooperate. But in the event of continued blundering on the part of the men it is inevitable that intelligent and competent women will step into the breach and point the way.

As Governor Fisher is on record with the League of Women Voters in favor of some amendatory provisions of the election laws, including the use of voting machines, there is a strong hope that such machines may be on the way, particularly since a New York commission declares that economies resulting from their use will in five years repay their cost.

Indifferent and resentful women voters are quite as responsible for the breakdown of the electoral system as the men who fail in their duty as citizens.

LOBBIES AND LOBBYISTS

In these random memories of other days on Capitol Hill I have occasionally referred to the efforts of organizations outside the Legislature to influence the action of the lawmaking body. It has not always been the same influence, but the methods have been practically identical. For instance, an organization having its objective in a bill gets together, passes strenuous resolutions and promptly sends its lobby to the Capitol. Then follow hearings and buttonholings and threats and all the other propaganda so highly developed in recent years. But not in my time do I remember anything quite so flagrant as the letter issued to its members by the State Tax Collectors' Association calling them to arms against a bill to demobilize an army of tax gatherers in

Pennsylvania. For years the average taxpayer has wondered why a measure of relief so obviously just and fair as the proposed reduction of unnecessary and expensive tax collectors should be defeated session after session. Perhaps this letter explains how it happened in the past. But so long as the opposition was conducted without noise the public did not understand; now that an association of tax collectors boldly and for their own benefit array themselves against a measure introduced in the interest of all the people, there can be little doubt of the effect on the Legislature.

A year or two ago a certain United States Senator of the West was the guest of honor at a luncheon meeting of the Harrisburg Chamber of Commerce. He explained in some detail how the makers of law at Washington stood up or sat down in obedience to signals of organized bodies from their agents in the galleries. He declared that without representation and a front in the national Capital, such bodies as chambers of commerce have no real influence; that it is the crowd with the big stick politically that counts. They have a hearing, but business without organization cuts a small figure. What is true of Washington applies also to the halls of legislation in Harrisburg.

WHEN THE FARMERS COMBINE

As in other States, so in Pennsylvania, there have been always and there always will be conflicts between the larger cities of the State and representatives of the rural districts in the Legislature. These once led to a combine that resulted in Caleb Thompson, of Warren, being chosen Speaker of the House. Since then rural blocs have organized with such strong men as Williams, of Tioga, and others to lead in the formulation of programs to direct legislation. These combinations have been influential often in turning back the legislative tide and occasionally in catching tricky legislators in the undertow. It has been found more than once that such blocs are able to accomplish their purposes, but occasion-



THE BRIDGES AT HARRISBURG
From an Aeroplane



VETERANS APPROACHING CAPITOL WITH BATTLE FLAGS
1914



DELIVERY OF BATTLE FLAGS TO THE STATE, JUNE 15, 1914
By Civil War Veterans

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ally they are swept off their feet in the current of their own creation. But out of these emerge leaders who manage to utilize the strength of the country members in a practical alignment against the larger cities. As noted in another chapter, Quay always remained close to the country members.

THE TROOPING OF THE FLAGS

A few years ago there was enacted on Capitol Hill in Harrisburg a scene of such dramatic interest and color that I still feel it should be portrayed in a fine mural setting among other historic features of the adornment of the Capitol. I refer to the trooping of the flags carried by the Pennsylvania regiments in the Civil War. These tattered and bullet-torn standards were brought to Harrisburg by their custodians from all parts of the State for a notable ceremony that will never be forgotten by those who witnessed the rare scene of patriotism. These flags are beloved by the brave men who followed them on many a bloody field. The Commonwealth having prepared glass cases for their preservation in the main rotunda of the Capitol, on a day set apart the relics of a great struggle that the Union might be preserved were borne to their final resting place under the gold-crowned dome.

Distinguished officers were color bearers on that memorable day in June, 1914, and all were glad to forget the eagles and stars of the higher rank for the chevrons of sergeants of the color guard. As a native of Mifflin County I shall never forget with what pride I saw the gallant General John P. Taylor holding aloft in his aged arms the flag around which rallied the men of the Juniata Valley in the crucial hour of a nation's need. Beside him were other brave officers and privates clinging to the waving colors of the regiments with which they had fought the good fight. In some cases only a few tattered bits of silk or bunting clung to the flag staffs, the hell of war having carried away all else of the

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standards presented by loving women or by Governor Curtin or societies as the men went to war. Thus also will be preserved the flags of Pennsylvania regiments in the World War.

TRICKERY IN LAWMAKING

As memory runs back to other sessions it is not difficult to recall how often the pettiness of factional or personal controversy operated against the real interests of the people. There was much of trickery in other days and many a bill became a law without much respect for the rules of procedure and the constitutional requirements. Older newspaper men will not have forgotten how a certain important revenue measure which encountered intense opposition in its passage finally reached the Governor in the closing hours of a certain session and fell because of a vital defect discovered after final adjournment, too late to be corrected. It was in proper form as to language, the enacting clause, and all else necessary in the framing of a law, but when Governor Beaver was about to act he discovered that the President *pro tem* of the Senate had not attached his autograph.

UNSEATING THE SPEAKER

Parliamentary battles in the Legislature have not always been occasioned by political controversy, but lively demonstrations in my day were responsible for deposing two Speakers. One of these was John R. Farr, of Lackawanna County, and the other was Robert S. Spangler, of the York district. One was compelled to retire for good, but the other promised to amend his ways and was permitted a day later to resume his place in the chair. In both instances the clever official parliamentarian of the Legislature, "Jim" Moore, was in his place, watching every move and advising the proper course of procedure.

Speaker Farr was out of joint with a large element of the House because, having been elevated to the chair through the sponsorship of David Martin, an anti-Quay

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leader in the session of 1899, he had gone over to the Quay side. Much bitterness resulted. Farr precipitated a tense situation when he left the chair to prevent consideration of a Quay jury bill and declared the House adjourned. But the anti-Quay members refused to adjourn at his dictum, demanding a roll-call. A quorum being present, a "rump" House was organized. Thus the House continued to do business until the calendar was cleared for the day. There was intense excitement. During the night a conference was held, and, when Farr agreed to play fair, he was permitted to wield the gavel next day. The record of proceedings after he left the chair the day before was officially expunged from the journal.

THE END OF SPANGLER

Speaker Spangler's undoing in 1921 was quite different. He was not permitted to get back. The trouble was due to an apportionment measure by which his county, York, lost one member. This the Speaker tried to prevent by keeping all apportionment bills in committee until it was too late for their final passage. A motion was made to discharge the committee from further consideration of these bills, but when this failed, the Speaker ruled that the same motion could not be renewed. This created such bitterness that, when a supporter of the Speaker called for the "orders of the day" and he declared the House adjourned until eleven o'clock the next day, the faction opposed to Spangler prepared for a parliamentary coup. At once on adjournment 124 members determined to unseat the Speaker for his alleged arbitrary action, depending for their action on the fact that under the rules the House convened at ten in the morning, unless otherwise ordered.

Chief Clerk "Tom" Garvin, having instructed the clerks to remain in their places, a plan to reorganize the House was at once disclosed. Whittaker, of Chester County, was chosen Speaker, the committee was discharged from further consideration of the apportionment

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bills, and these were then passed on first reading at an early hour in the morning.

Having completed thus the first phase of revolt, the House adjourned until ten o'clock the following day, under the rules. When Speaker Spangler did not appear at ten o'clock, the House proceeded to confirm its action of the night before by formal election of Whittaker as Speaker. More than 130 votes were cast for him and he was sworn in by a judge of the Dauphin County courts.

When the hands of the clock pointed to eleven, Spangler appeared and demanded the chair. He was told that it had been declared vacant and that Whittaker had been elected Speaker. Spangler was requested to take his seat. A pro-Spangler member moved that all proceedings from the time Spangler had left the chair until that moment be expunged from the records, but the House would have none of it and Whittaker continued to occupy the chair until the end of the session.

Speaker Spangler realized too late that he had committed a tactical blunder when he vacated the chair and made possible an alignment against him.

LESS ORATORY, MORE DEEDS

It is a somewhat unusual fact that recent years have not produced in the Legislature, either in the Senate or House, the eloquent orators of other days. Time was when it was a treat to sit in the galleries or on the sidelines on the floor and listen to the finished addresses and debates of the lawmakers. Perhaps the change is due to more practical methods in securing the same results, but a generation ago one could easily name a score or more of men in the House who were distinguished as public speakers; and the same might be said of the Senate. Of course, there has never been any lack of speech making on either side of the Capitol, but it doesn't follow that the ability to talk is always a sign of the real orator. I suspect that the Legislature as now constituted and as it has been constituted for a considerable number of years would not patiently listen to the

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old-time eloquence which was cultivated by public men in the making of their political careers. Many of the older fellows on Capitol Hill will easily recall the forceful and eloquent speeches of Thomas Valentine Cooper, when he was in the Senate; James Gay Gordon, John Stewart, A. J. Herr, William A. Wallace, Jerome B. Niles, Joseph Kennedy, John P. Elkin and others of that earlier period. Nowadays it would cause some surprise in either the Senate or House to have a member get off one of those famous prepared speeches which were once a sign of leadership and conspicuous ability.

THE NEW LAWMAKER'S LESSON

With respect to the Legislature and its functions, there is a prevalent opinion in certain quarters, not confined entirely to the lawmakers themselves, that it is the business of the legislative branch of the State government to enact laws and still more laws day and night, world without end. So obsessed is the average legislator with this idea that he comes to Harrisburg at the opening of the session every two years laden like a packmule with highly concentrated panaceas for the relief of the proletariat. It matters little to the maker of laws that many of the proposals which he sponsors are absolutely without merit and unnecessary. His is the duty to fill the legislative hopper full to the brim. Thus the statutory grind begins amid much clatter and guff of one kind or another. But presently the new lawmaker realizes that, instead of his constituents crying for more laws, they are in fact now demanding a moratorium in all this business of enacting useless measures camouflaged as essential to the welfare of the people.

So there ensues a rather abrupt about face on the part of the legislator, and so quickly executed that, instead of hounding the footsteps of chairmen of the various committees, urging prompt reporting out of his bills with favorable recommendations, he seeks the heads of committees and beseeches them to pickle his unfortunate half-baked proposals, until the imminent ap-

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proach of final adjournment makes certain the inevitable burial of the once promising measures. It has always been so and there is not likely to be any departure from the record of the past.

FOR THE DEAR CONSTITUENTS

Many meritorious bills are defeated in the Legislature through tricks that would put the "heathen Chinee" to the blush. Often the resistance is from the outside and influences are invoked that would hunt cover in event of exposure. It is an old dodge for some legislator of questionable morals to arise in the Legislature with a great show of virtue—incidentally for the journal of the proceedings—and condemn the press for misrepresentation of some action of his on a measure in which his constituents happen to be interested. But the public is not easily deceived nowadays.

MAKING THE CAPITAL REAL

Following the burning of the Capitol in 1897, there was the usual discussion on the part of Philadelphians of a proposal to remove the Capital of the State to the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers. This had been suggested before, but never got farther than resolutions. As a matter of fact Senator Penrose and other important leaders of the Republican party were always opposed to the idea. They realized that the capital of a great Commonwealth, moved into the atmosphere of its metropolis, would be out of touch with hundreds of thousands of the people. So Senator Penrose put a quietus on the removal talk before it got far on its way.

Had Penrose lived it is almost certain that the Supreme Court would sit permanently in the fine chambers provided in the Capitol building instead of merely hesitating in Harrisburg once a year. Perhaps the day will come when lawyers and others, who now consult their own comfort and pleasure first, will realize that a court of last resort in a great commonwealth should not move

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around in the peripatetic fashion which is customary with Pennsylvania's higher tribunal. There should be a concentration of all State agencies and departments in Harrisburg. Of course, there will always be need for occasional bureaus which function in Philadelphia and elsewhere, but it has been demonstrated that frequently agencies which are now carried on outside of the Capitol could just as well be concentrated on Capitol Hill.

A PERMANENT ABIDING PLACE

Several years ago the *Telegraph* started a movement to have the Supreme Court sit permanently in the Capitol where spacious and dignified quarters have been provided for this august tribunal. It was our contention that the higher court should have a permanent abiding place; that there is no justification for sitting in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, for the convenience of lawyers and in Harrisburg a week or two only once a year. Since the creation of the intermediate tribunal—the Superior Court—it is the contention of those favorable to establishing the sittings of the court of last resort exclusively in Harrisburg, that no occasion now exists for the moving about of the eminent jurists. Among those who were on the Harrisburg end of the argument was the Hon. J. Hay Brown, former Chief Justice. But he was not alone on this proposition. Other members of the court were of his opinion and had the matter reached a final showdown they would have thrown the weight of their influence to the affirmative of the proposition. When Harrisburg lacked adequate hotel facilities there might have been some reason for opposing continuous sittings of the higher court at the Capital of the State, but such an excuse may no longer be advanced. Then, no city has better steam transportation and highway facilities than Harrisburg, and it is now the hub of the most modern highway system in the world. All things considered, the character of the tribunal, the increasing concentration of governmental functions on Capitol Hill, the creation of a second or intermediate

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court for relief of the body having the final determination of causes, and the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States sits for the hearing of all appeals in Washington, the national Capital, there should be no further delay in transferring at least a large percentage of cases to Harrisburg. Instead of cutting the Middle District calendar to the vanishing point, the reduction of the calendar of the Supreme Court might well begin on the flanks of the judiciary of the Commonwealth at Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Let me predict that the constant effort of Philadelphia, particularly, to set up in the metropolis important agencies of the State which in their nature and functions are closely affiliated with the main structure of administration—legislative, judicial and executive—will result in a sharp reaction of public protest. It is all right, perhaps, for the metropolis to take unto itself superior rights and prerogatives as the Cradle of Liberty, but it never was contemplated that the governmental structure on Capitol Hill should be split into various elements and transplanted to the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill to satisfy the pride of those who still imagine that Pennsylvania outside the county of Philadelphia is more or less a wilderness inhabited by rough men having no appreciation of the inherent virtues of the founder of Penn's experiment.



CHAPTER XI

HUMOR IN THE LEGISLATURE

MANY of the lawmakers and others are amusing because they try to be serious; others are comedians because they are built that way. Some of the performances are staged for the entertainment of spectators; others are unintentionally funny. This is particularly true of those who take themselves so seriously that they fail to realize how ludicrous is their official by-play in the eyes of the lookers-on.

“FOGHORN” FOW DIVERTS THE LEGISLATURE

My newspaper contemporaries of the Legislative Correspondents' Association, which it was my pleasure to assist in founding years ago, will readily recall a group of the serio-comic legislators who supplied entertainment for their colleagues while at the same time giving their best efforts for the scores of measures which this type of lawmaker always sponsors. They failed frequently to see how ridiculous in many cases were their prodigious endeavors to make laws.

Perhaps the most outstanding comedian in the legislative annals of the State was the late John H. Fow, of Philadelphia, popularly known as “Foghorn” Fow. He was a rotund, bustling, excitable and loquacious individual who seldom lost the center of the stage. As a rule—

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and he returned to the House year after year—he occupied a front seat on the Democratic side of the chamber. An inveterate practical joker, he never hesitated to have his fun at the expense of anyone, member or spectator. But with it all he managed to retain the good will and friendship of men of all parties, even among those whom he was constantly badgering on the floor. His annual stunt on Washington's Birthday was quietly to advise each member of what he was about to do. Then, when the House was called to order, he arose with all the dignity of a fat little man and, having obtained recognition from the chair, announced with tremendous importance that the day, being the anniversary of the birth of a great man, he wanted the House to pay tribute to his memory. Then, in stentorian tones, he inquired: "Who was George Washington?" Whereupon every huge fist in the House was raised above the desk of the member and down it came, as each shouted at the top of his voice: "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen!" All thumped vigorously as Fow led the way.

On one occasion Fow arranged with another Democrat who sat immediately in his rear to support one of his bills. This colleague promised to do so, but when the test came he was found among the opponents. Disgusted, Fow said nothing at the time, but waited his opportunity. Immediately following on the calendar was a bill introduced by the Democrat who had turned Fow down. This had to do with penalties for sheep-killing dogs. The Democrat wanted the act repealed and declared that, while he was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, he warned his associates that unless the bill was passed political damnation was certain to be their fate. Fow, still smarting over the negative vote, couldn't stand the prophet business and, turning sharply around toward the member, commented in a loud whisper: "You're no prophet nor the son of a prophet, but you're a son-of-a-gun and here for profit!"

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Another stunt of the Philadelphia lawyer, who was a particular defender of the Constitution and frequently barricaded his own desk and those of his neighbors with books of reference on some constitutional point, was to vote freely and often for all manner of bills, in the absence of members. I have known him to bend over near the platform of the reading clerk and, the yeas and nays being called, he would reply for the absentees, changing his voice up and down as the case required. Several times the roll call was challenged, especially when an absent member found he had been recorded in favor of a doubtful measure that he was known to be squarely against. None of these exposures, however, ever troubled Fow. To him the matter was a great joke.

"STAR-SPANGLED" SPANGLER

Legislators of the last quarter of a century will recall another interesting character in the House at Harrisburg whose chief joy was to laud the Stars and Stripes on every possible occasion. He came from Cumberland County and was widely known as "Star-Spangled" Spangler. He kept a small silk flag in his desk and, without the slightest excuse for a patriotic speech, would swing into line, throw up the top of his desk, grip the flag and proceed to hurl all manner of eloquent apostrophies toward the ceiling. He was a professional auctioneer, and he always appeared to the newspaper gallery to be selling the country to the highest bidder, using the flag as an impetus for increasing the price.

"THE QUICK AND THE DEAD"

Another lawmaker whose memory is still more or less fresh in the minds of the solons of the State came to Harrisburg for the purpose of preventing dismemberment of Adams County in the reapportionment bill then pending. Adams had two members in the Legislature, and he pleaded for their retention against a proposal to cut the representation of the county to one. In his maiden speech he tearfully told the story of Decoration

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Day at Gettysburg and how the children planted flowers on the graves of the soldiers. But he said little as to the bill itself. "Foghorn" Fow immediately introduced a resolution to the effect that Adams County, having two men in the House and the measure not yet having been passed upon, the gentleman who had just spoken might represent the dead and the other member the living.

"BIRDY" WARREN'S BOOK

Peter J. Hoban, one of the practical jokers of our fraternity, will never forget how he taught Senator George Handy Smith a wholesome lesson. It appears that Hoban had been called down by Smith for printing something that George Handy didn't like, the Philadelphian declaring in rather pompous style that nobody read the newspaper anyhow and he was not concerned about what it said. On the following morning Hoban inserted among his dispatches a statement to the effect that Senator Smith had received one thousand copies of the "Birds of Pennsylvania" for free distribution among his constituents. This bird book was a famous State publication and was much in demand. During the next few days hundreds of letters were received by Smith from his constituents, beseeching him for a copy of the illustrated publication. He accused Hoban of placing him in a false position with his home people when he must have known that no bird books were to be had. But Hoban innocently suggested that, since nobody reads the paper, no constituents of Smith's could have been led astray. For several days the avalanche of appeals for Dr. Warren's immortal work continued, and it was weeks before the usually urbane George Handy recovered his temper.

This book of Dr. Warren's on the "Birds of Pennsylvania" was the cause of much good fellowship. He was an ornithologist of much talent. Naturally it was an extremely popular work, and, as it was used largely as a gift book, I suspect it has a place in most of the homes

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of Pennsylvania at this time. On one occasion a bill was introduced to provide for another edition at a cost of \$100,000. In the midst of the debate one of the eloquent proponents of the measure arose in his might and asked: "What's a hundred thousand dollars to the great and glorious State of Pennsylvania? Give us another bird book!"

IN THE DAYS OF THE FREE PASS

In the "good old days" the railroad pass and other transportation courtesies were looked upon as proper perquisites of the newspaper and legislator. Especially was this true among the lawmakers who regarded the railroad free tickets as part of their emoluments. It was quite a common thing at the close of the weekly legislative session to enter a Pullman car crowded with solons, not a single one of whom had paid for his transportation.

Incidentally, the older newspaper men who remember this era of free passes on the railroad will recall with vividness the strenuous efforts of Pedrick and Potts to supply sufficient transportation for the statesmen who managed to adjourn the Legislature about the middle of the week that they might pursue their "investigations" in Atlantic City and elsewhere. One lawmaker in particular was always before the Pedrick-Potts desk to urge prompt consideration of his transportation needs. This alleged legislator often boasted of the number of passes which he had in his pocket at one time. Like others he pestered the tried and disgusted representatives of the "railroad and insurance journals" for free and unlimited passes hither and yon. It was a terrible (!) day when the pass privilege ceased to function, for the pass was regarded with more favor than any other form of "undue" influence. Whole families of legislators came to Harrisburg free and it was long a standing joke that the stranger who happened to offer a ticket for which he had paid was almost mobbed by the other individuals who crowded the car on free passes. In those days there was

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an unusual demand for transportation just before the final action on some measure which was greatly desired by the railroad corporations. It was always a question of plucking the fruit when the fruit was ripe. As I sat for quite a time near the desk of Pedrick and Potts, I had the amusing experience of hearing their comments on certain of those who petitioned for free transportation. They were quite diplomatic, however, and extremely careful not to criticize above a whisper those who sought a *quid pro quo* for services to the corporation which issued the slips.

BEFORE THE VOLSTEAD ERA

Before the Volstead era and in the days of the old Capitol some Senators, and perhaps a group of the members of the House, had subcellars in which they refreshed themselves at a sideboard well stocked. There was no public bar, but those who craved refreshment usually found the way to the private stock below. Of course, they could easily be found on the roll call, and it was the business of the older pages to sound the alarm when the yeas and nays were called.

However, it wasn't always necessary for an individual to be present to respond to his own name. This was done in his absence by some friend who had been authorized to pipe up at the proper time. Once or twice in my recollection serious situations arose over the faking of the roll call. Of course, no one would betray the guilty solon who had impersonated an absentee, but on correction of the roll it was usually explained that the reading clerk could not hear in the confusion and of course would check off the names as they were responded to.

"ST. PATRICK'S DAY IN THE MORNING"

It has been from time immemorial the practice of the members of the Legislature to celebrate St. Patrick's Day. With respect to the Patron Saint of Ireland, the old timers will not forget the late Frank B. McClain, former Lieutenant Governor and Speaker of the House, one of

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the sweet singers of the Legislature for several years, who took upon himself session after session the arranging of a program for the St. Patrick's Day observance. McClain was the personification of an Irish priest of full habit, ruddy face and a humor that was irresistible. He delighted in the romance of poetry, and it filled him with real joy to recount in eloquent words the great service of St. Patrick to Ireland and the world. These celebrations brought out much splendid oratory, as the virtues and achievements not only of St. Patrick, but of many other distinguished Irishmen, were eloquently set forth, arousing tremendous enthusiasm. Orators of national reputation came to Harrisburg under the auspices of the Loyal Sons of St. Patrick, and the silver tongues of men like Bourke Cochran and others as famous have extolled the race that has given the world a long line of distinguished speakers, gallant soldiers, prominent statesmen and able writers, and has enriched poetry and romance.

THE THREATENED CHESTNUT BLIGHT

Once a measure was introduced in the Legislature to prevent boys from hunting nuts on private property. This was earnestly opposed by Senators Everhart and Chestnut, who was, quite appropriately, an opponent of the bill. This bill was defeated, the point being made successfully that enough law was on the statute books to prevent ordinary trespassing. Then there was sympathy among the solons for the boy who finds his greatest joy scotching trees in the woods and fields of the countryside. Such bills were of a piece with similar measures introduced to catch the favor of the poor and the workman. Ordinarily, the real interest of the statesman in such cases is not so much the concern for the poor man as it is an abiding concern for his political welfare.

A DISMAYED SPEAKER

A few years ago there was in the House a member named Noah Seanor, a representative of a Western Penn-

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sylvania county, who was intensely interested in agricultural matters and aimed to champion anything and everything which he imagined might be of interest to his bucolic constituents. On the occasion in question he had prepared a tremendous speech covering many pages of foolscap, the sheets being spread before him on his desk as he arose to deliver his address. While he was in the very heart of his deliverance "Foghorn" Fow slipped quietly into a seat behind him and, without being seen by Seanor, shuffled the sheets of his speech in such a way as to make it absolutely impossible for the lawmaker to proceed. He became much confused, not having committed the remarks to memory, and finally sat down, his speech having caved in upon him. Seanor was one of the many victims of Fow's practical joking. But the horse-play of other days has changed to a milder form of hazing.

"SAM" HUDSON'S BUG

Perhaps the most interesting fun-making of the years that I am recalling was the speech of "Sam" Hudson, a well-known newspaper man, on "Columbus." It was regularly agreed in a journal resolution that the two bodies—the Senate and the House—should meet in joint session to hear this address. The Senators filed into the chamber of the House with all due dignity and sat in front seats. Then "Sam" appeared and, ascending the Speaker's platform, proceeded to deliver one of the most humorous, witty, and philosophical addresses that I have ever heard. What he said about Columbus was never said before and probably will never be said again. It was as good as George W. Peck's famous story, "How Peck Put Down the Rebellion."

"Columbus As I Knew Him" was the topic of the lecture, which was subsequently repeated by request before the Penrose Republican Club in Philadelphia. This historic address was concluded as follows:

"In a churchyard in the city of Macaroni, Italy, there stand two marble shafts. One is erected to the memory of Christopher Columbus; the other perpetuates the fame

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of his great rival. The inscription upon the Columbus monument reads:

“Here I lie
As snug as a bug
In a rug”

“The inscription upon the tomb of Americus Vesputius reads:

“Here I lie,
A great deal snugger
Than that other bugger.”

To me Hudson always suggested the Mark Twain of frontier and mining days. As the representative of the Virginia City *Enterprise* at the Nevada Capital Twain was responsible for more deviltry than any newspaper man ever before perpetrated and was a prominent figure at the sessions of the territorial Legislature as “governor” of the Third House, a burlesque organization. He wrote a message to his organization which was a rich bit of satire, ridiculing the State officials and legislators. Hudson was not without fame in the same way on Capitol Hill; but his Columbus speech was easily the best effort of his life. It was Hudson who asked Senator Quay for a letter of introduction to Governor Beaver, whom he sought to interview. “Certainly,” said Quay, and immediately penned a brief note. Later Hudson found out that Quay had written: “Dear Beaver—Don’t talk!” How “Sam” enjoyed this joke on himself!

WHEN SENATOR CRITCHFIELD UNMASKED

Some years ago there came to Harrisburg as a member of the Senate from Somerset County a statesman of the aggressive type who was possessed of abundant hair and whiskers black as the raven’s wing. He soon justified his relationship to the “Sons of Thunder” and was regarded as one of the most forceful and fearless of the lawmakers of the upper branch of the Legislature. Norman Bruce Critchfield was his name. It was not long

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until he achieved definite leadership among the agriculturists on Capitol Hill. He served from 1891 to 1898, and in 1903 he returned as the Secretary of Agriculture, being popular with and having the confidence of the farmers of Pennsylvania.

The strikingly black hirsute adornment of the Somerset solon attracted much attention—there was so much of it—and in debate it was a conspicuous feature of the Senator's ensemble. In fact, Critchfield strongly suggested in his personality the statesman of the period antedating the Civil War. I rather think he was an object of envy in certain quarters, especially among those who sought, as in the present day, to make up in personal decoration what was lacking in mental equipment. The gentleman from Somerset wore his whiskers and his honors gracefully, but, by reason of his intellectual powers he didn't require any superficial adornment to hold his place in the public eye. He was able and willing to meet all comers in debate, but few risked an open clash on the floor. Before the close of the first session he had won his spurs, and all who knew him had respect for his ability and admiration for fine personal qualities.

Two years elapsed, and the opening scenes of the first day of the succeeding session were being staged in the Senate chamber. Much handshaking and the usual good fellowship featured the occasion. Moving about among the Senators was a venerable man with but little hair, which was frosted by many winters, and with gray whiskers, closely trimmed. He was introduced to members and officials of the Senate as a distinguished jurist, and much attention was bestowed upon him. Meanwhile Senator Critchfield had not yet appeared. For an hour or more the judicial stranger continued to receive the courtesies of the upper statesmen. Then the Senate was called to order. In the seat of the gentleman from Somerset sat the eminent stranger. When the name of Critchfield was reached in the formal roll call

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the "visitor" answered "Present." Those in the secret joined with him in the gale of laughter that followed the unmasking of the sedate Somerset lawmaker who had publicly abandoned his black wig and eschewed forever the hairdresser's embellishment. Critchfield's practical joke and his sudden transformation from a middle-aged and vigorous man to one of threescore and more has never been duplicated. Survivors of the Senate of 1893 will easily recall the incident.

ROUTING SENATOR GRADY

Cyrus E. Woods, destined to be Ambassador to Japan, was one of a younger group in the State Senate, including the future Governor Fisher and Judge John E. Fox, of Harrisburg. These men watched with interest the development of legislation, and, like all novitiates, were disposed to keep silent during their first session. One dictatorial member of the Senate, however, finally aroused their indignation, and they determined to assert themselves. The late Israel W. Durham, of Philadelphia, was one of the controlling spirits in the Senate, and he had considerable admiration for Woods and his associates. One day the hard-boiled member, who had seen long service and who was constantly backing bills of doubtful public interest, happened to be out of the chamber when one of his bills was reached on the calendar. He returned just in time to confront a roll call on this particular measure and, discovering what was happening, immediately made a motion to have the measure placed on the postponed calendar. This was the very thing the young conspirators were opposing, and all launched into speeches against further postponement. Senator Grady—for it was he who was routed—became red and spluttered his wrath. When the bill went through he growled loud enough to be heard by all, "There are too damn many boys in the Senate at present!" Grady was choleric, dictatorial and so arbitrary that the young Senators had determined it was time to clip his comb. It demonstrated their independence and

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had a stabilizing effect. Older leaders, out to browbeat and hold back the bright young men who refused to be steam-rollered, found they had met their match in the group led by Woods, Fox, Fisher and one or two others, reinforced by a few fair-mined Democrats, and with the laughing approval of Senator Is Durham, the most formidable of the regulars, who thoroughly enjoyed the defeated Grady's discomfiture.

FOR SOOTHING THE SAVAGE BREAST

Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, and there is no more savage creature in jungle or elsewhere than the legislator in Washington or Harrisburg or other capital who has been defeated in his effort to have passed a bill for "the dear pee-pul" at home. So there has been developed since time immemorial at each recurring session of the Legislature a volunteer chorus of newspaper fellows and lawmakers. These sing away the turbulence of lawmaking and the violent interpretation of the same. My colleagues of older as well as more recent days will recall the festive song birds, among whom were Colonel Henry Hall, a Gridiron Club lyric artist; George J. Brennan, he of the umbrella who invariably gets in out of the wet; Peter J. Hoban, and his "Widow Machree"; Samuel B. Cochran, red-headed and hopeful, a practical House joker of former days; the late Frank B. McClain, former Speaker and Lieutenant Governor, a fine tenor; Harry S. Calvert, a Pittsburgh songster; "Sam" Hudson, who sang with great facial and heart expression; W. A. Connor, who lifted his voice in "A. P." lyrics; Walter J. Christy, who always camouflaged his possession of late news with song, and many more whose memories, those living and dead, will always remain fragrant.



CHAPTER XII

INTERVIEWS AND COMMENTS

HENRY WARD BEECHER was sitting in a railroad train at Harrisburg years ago when I sought him for an interview. I can still see him as he patiently waited the scheduled connection for another place where he was to deliver a lecture. No use pretending I was otherwise than greatly embarrassed! His leonine head, his thick hair, falling to his shoulders, his paternal manner and his evident desire to help out, his fame as a preacher and orator—all this, and the feeling that I was not quite up to the self-imposed assignment, made the job difficult in the extreme. In a minute or two, however, the great preacher had dispelled my timidity, and we talked like old friends until his train started.

THEY COULD SPEAK ENGLISH

I recall a rather interesting experience with an imposing Chinese Ambassador and his suite some years ago. The impressive character of this diplomatic entourage rather rattled me when I was told to get a story of his arrival in Harrisburg. A representative of the Department of State at Washington met the new Ambassador and his party at San Francisco, and on the way East the Chinese envoy was shown all manner of courtesy and hospitality. I found the distinguished party in one of

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the quieter restaurants. They occupied a private dining room on the second floor, and I was doubtful whether I would be thrown out, or mayhap received with the dignity inseparable from Chinese diplomacy. The representative of the Secretary of State was a good fellow, and through him I made known that I was a newspaper man, and desired to have an expression of the new Ambassador's early impressions of the United States.

Of course, all of my questions and answers were passed through the interpreter. I couldn't help noticing a peculiar twinkle in the eyes of the new diplomat, who was a giant in stature, and a handsome man, adorned in rich apparel of silks and satin, with much gold embellishment. He seemed to be interested in what I was saying to the American interpreter and watched me with an expression that had me guessing. There was in the faces of others a kind of interrogatory I couldn't fathom.

After talking for a few minutes I arose to leave. The eminent Chinese also got to his feet, and, with the most dignified and courteous manner possible said, in faultless English:

"I am very glad to have met you, and I trust that we shall some time meet again!"

To say that I was flabbergasted is putting it mildly. Manifestly he understood every word that I had said, while he replied in his own native tongue. Thus the quizzical and whimsical expression about his eyes as he talked with me through an interpreter was fully explained.

I had a somewhat similar experience with an Indian chief, one of the most powerful men of his race. At the time he was on the way to Washington with a party of red men and was highly decorated with feathers, blankets and beaded moccasins.

About all I got out of him in the way of an interview was a number of emphatic grunts, and a final handshake of the pump-handle variety. I found out later, however, that he understood everything that I had said,

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but had been warned against talking about his mission to Washington to see the Great White Father.

WITH THE SAGE OF DONEGAL

A man with whom I had the pleasure of conducting occasional interviews was General Simon Cameron, the one elder statesman who retained to the last the confidence and friendship of political leaders and legislators from every part of the Commonwealth. It must have been after he was eighty that the Legislature decided while in session to pay its respects to General Cameron at his historic home on the river front in Harrisburg, near where John Harris established his famous ferry and dealt with the Indians. I had previously been impressed with the remarkable memory of the Sage of Donegal during my visits in his home, but on the occasion of this reception he surpassed himself as the great line of lawmakers and State officials and others passed before him, recalling names of the ancestry and homes of many of those who greeted him, even back to the third and fourth generation. Many marveled at what they heard that day. He would meet a young legislator, and his name at once suggested father and grandfather and incidents of their association with himself. His recollection of past events was a constant subject of wonderment.

"IT MUST NOT BE PRINTED"

On a certain visit to General Cameron I heard him discuss James G. Blaine, then in Europe, whose admirers throughout the country were promoting in his interest a campaign for the Presidency. At the time there was general speculation as to what would likely be the attitude of General Cameron and his son, Senator James Donald Cameron, in the event of the possible Blaine candidacy. He spoke with remarkable candor, and at times with considerable feeling, regarding "The Plumed Knight." Now metropolitan newspapers which I represented as Harrisburg correspondent were bombarding me with telegrams to find out what the

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Camerons would do if Blaine entered the field. Having discussed the matter with General Cameron more than once, I could have given an immediate answer, but at the end of every visit, when I suggested that some of the things he had said would be quite acceptable to the newspapers which I represented, he replied invariably:

"No, young man, I am no longer in public life and what I say must not be printed."

Of course, I respected his confidence and did not even intimate what he had said to me regarding the Blaine situation.

General Cameron was fond of young printers and newspaper men and I felt honored by his freedom in discussing public men and measures. It will not be forgotten that this Secretary of War in Lincoln's Cabinet was himself a printer in his youth. He was apprenticed to a printer at Sunbury, the indenture setting forth the service he was to render and the wages he was to receive.

THE MYSTERIOUS TRAMP PRINTER

Long before the days of General Cameron a Philadelphian named James Ross Snowden was the Treasurer of Pennsylvania. While I know nothing of him except by reputation, I did know one of his descendants, who bore the same name. With this man I had many pleasing conferences. He was one of the peripatetic printers and writers of the long ago. More than once he came to the *Journal* office when I was a cub printer in McVeytown. Since he had traveled extensively, his occasional visits were like the coming of a living message from the great outside world. It was his custom to remain with us for a few days, until he was staked for a further pilgrimage. Standing at the case, he would put into type all manner of contributions for our little paper, witty, philosophical, and notes of travel. His comment on current events showed unusual ability. But he wasted his life. He was one of the printers of the pre-Volstead era, and that tells the whole story.

In those days many clever and skillful typesetters and

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writers of ability completed their training by tramping all over the country. As a rule they were printers of unusual skill. Their visits to the different print shops and newspaper offices provided for those who did not get far from the home-base a liberal education in the art preservative of all arts. Snowden was one of many, almost any of whom would have furnished sufficient picturesque philosophy for one of our American columnists.

Many warm friendships were formed in those days with these migratory printers, and I have a lively recollection of their value to me, a young printer, in pointing out technical secrets in the handling of type and the phrasing of a story. As a rule these men had never been guilty of anything save abuse of themselves through drink. Many came of good families and some possessed an education far above the average. They loved the roving life and were never impressed with arguments intended to persuade them to settle down. They preferred always to move on to new fields and to fresh experiences.

A few of my friends of the roaming cult wore long hair of the cowboy type, flowing cravats, frequently frock coats, usually the worse for wear, shoes that were decrepit from travel overland and shirts liberally stained with tobacco. Most of them were in good standing with the typographical organizations, and few moved without a union card.

There were some distinguished tramp printers who usually appeared clean and presentable and to whom a generous hospitality was extended by their fellows among the printers and writers, but most of these arrived in such condition that renovation was necessary. After a bath, a hair cut, and a new suit of clothes, they were ready for a recital of their wanderings since the last visit. Then they proceeded with the work in hand. Often we thought a real reformation had been accomplished in the case of one or other of these casual birds of passage, but just when everything looked favorable

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for permanent reform the visitor would disappear, and we knew he had gone again and might never return.

A SCOOP WORTH WHILE

I well remember that a subject on which one of these tramp printers loved to dwell was the "scoop." As I listened, how I longed to achieve a scoop! Now I can look back on many such achievements. What newspaper man is there who cannot?

Some years ago Judge John W. Simonton, of the Harrisburg courts, handed down an opinion in what is still on the records as the famous South Pennsylvania Railroad case, an equity proceeding to prevent the Vanderbilt interests from paralleling the Pennsylvania Railroad from one end of the State to the other. At that time I represented the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Financial News*, and other important railroad and financial journals.

Some days before the decision was made known I called upon Judge Simonton at his chambers and asked him whether it would be ethical for me to request preparation of a carbon copy of his opinion which I might have when the decision was officially announced. He had always been ready to help me in my newspaper work, and he agreed that this was a reasonable request, inasmuch as it did not involve premature publication.

Later the court messenger came to me and said that he had been instructed by Judge Simonton to have me in court at a certain hour on a certain day. When I arrived I saw in the bar enclosure a number of railroad attorneys and newspaper men, who had also learned that a decision was about to be handed down. Judge Simonton nodded to me significantly, and, as I faced him from the clerk's platform with my back to the anxious group bending over the official opinion, he quickly pushed the copy prepared for me across his desk. The attorneys and other newspaper men who were doing their utmost to find out the gist of the decision were so absorbed in

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looking over each other's shoulders that my apparent indifference was not observed.

I soon flashed to the important Wall Street and other papers the substantial points of the decision that stopped the construction work on the great competitive railroad upon which millions of dollars had already been expended. Tunnels had been bored through mountains, deep fills had been completed and bridges had been built for the Vanderbilt line. There were, for instance, a line of substantial granite piers across the Susquehanna River at Harrisburg, close to the bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which were to have supported a marvelous bridge. These still stand, silent monuments of a great railroad controversy based on two issues—vested rights and competition. The decision was a triumph for the Pennsylvania Railroad, which would have been the chief loser through the Vanderbilt rivalry in the soft-coal region of Pennsylvania and through western connections at Pittsburgh.

Getting a copy of his opinion at the moment the original decision was handed down by the Judge was hardly a scoop in the accepted sense of the term, but it enabled me to reach the Wall Street news sources and the Harrisburg *Telegraph* first. Also, through this fortuitous circumstance, the Pennsylvania Railroad officials anxiously waiting in the Broad Street offices at Philadelphia, were able to obtain details long before their stenographers at Harrisburg could complete for their use a summary of the long document. When I had made extracts the duplicate copy which I had was turned over to Col. O. E. McClellan, superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Harrisburg, who promptly burned the wires between Harrisburg and Philadelphia with its full text.

A STRANGE CASE OF FRAUD

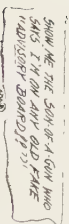
In May, 1911, an interesting case came before the Federal court for the Middle District at Harrisburg. It had to do with the arrest of three defendants represent-

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ing what was known as "The Correspondence Institute of America." These individuals were arrested for using the mails to defraud. Fines to the amount of \$15,000 and costs were imposed upon them. They were accused of representing in literature and other advertisements that a high art course could be had by correspondence and that their instructors included some of the world-famous caricaturists and cartoonists, including "Vet" Anderson, of the *New York World*; McBride, of the *St. Louis Republican*; F. Oppen, of New York *American* fame; Frank C. Wing; Ole May, of the *Cleveland Leader*; L. C. Gregg, of the *Atlanta Constitution*; C. L. Bartholomew, of the *Minneapolis Journal*; Herbert Johnson, of the *Philadelphia North American*; Schroeder, of the *Detroit Free Press*, as well as others.

Those named appeared at the trial as witnesses for the prosecution. During their visit to Harrisburg I showed these famous artists some courtesies, including an automobile tour of the city and vicinity. They desired to reciprocate and at my suggestion made a composite cartoon which was reproduced on the front page of the *Harrisburg Telegraph* at the conclusion of the trial. A reproduction appears in this book. It is unique, for it shows the funny brain conceits of each artist, as, for instance, the gopher of Bartholomew, and others.

The defendants were three men from Scranton—a blacksmith, a repairman and a hatter. In an effort to profit by the great advertising then being conducted by the International School of Correspondence at Scranton they had organized a corporation for the purpose of teaching the arts of cartooning, caricaturing and the like through the mail. They took as a name "The Correspondence Institute of Scranton." Of course practically everyone that read the advertisements was led to believe that the International Correspondence School was conducting the Institute. This was advertised in all the leading magazines of the country. The advertisement asked the readers to "Sketch Hans and Get a Prize." A



FAMOUS COMPOSITE CARTOON DRAWN FOR THE AUTHOR BY LEADING AMERICAN CARICATURISTS DURING A NOTABLE TRIAL IN FEDERAL COURT

FOLLOWING ARE THE ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCHES TO THE HARRISBURG
TELEGRAPH, NOVEMBER 11, 1918 ANNOUNCING THE SIGNING OF THE ARMIS-
TICE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES AND
THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

-0-0-0-

(THE FIRST BULLETIN, IT WILL BE NOTED, WAS RECEIVED IN
THE TELEGRAPH OFFICES ONE MINUTE AFTER IT WAS ANNOUNCED AT
WASHINGTON. THE SECOND TELEGRAM IS CONFIRMATORY OF THE BRIEF
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.)

47

FLASH

ARMISTICE SIGNED

cc 246 a.m.

Form 1925

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY NEWSPAPER SPECIAL REPORT

SEND BY WESTERN UNION LINES

4 P CA COLLECT NPR SUB DATE

PAGE...
LETTER.....

PHILADELPHIA PA NOV 11 1918

THE TELEGRAPH

HARRISBURG PA

009

WASHINGTON NOV 11 - (BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS -EOS BULLENTIN)
ARMISTICE TERMS HAVE BEEN SIGNED BY GERMANY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT
ANNOUNCED AT 245 OCLOCK THIS MORNING. THE DEPARTMENTS ANNOUNCEMENT
SIMPLY SAID " THE ARMISTICE HAS BEEN SIGNED."

THE WORLD WAR WILL END THIS MORNING AT SIX OCLOCK WASHINGTON
TIME 11 OCLOCK PARIS TIME. THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED BY THE GERMAN
REPRESENTATIVES AT MIDNIGHT.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

415AM

STORY OF THE ARMISTICE ASSOCIATED PRESS FLASH
A Record that Newspaper Men Will Appreciate

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small sketch of a Dutch boy's head appeared with the ad. The prize was a magazine devoted exclusively to the advertisement of the school. Regardless of ability, everyone who answered the advertisement won a prize.

Upon receipt of the sketch from a gullible reader this was numbered and filed, for a record was kept of each person who sent in a sketch. Stock letters were used, each applicant receiving identical letters. The first letter told the percentage given by the Board of Examiners, the second, from the art director, told the person that he had exceptional qualifications; the third, from the manager, said that the aspirant had such wonderful talent the art director had called the manager's attention to it. In order that the talented one might be developed a special inducement was offered to that person to secure the course offered.

THE MAKING OF AN ART COURSE

And this was the history of the course. An employe of the concern when in New York City, saw on an old book stand the volume, "How to Make the World Laugh," by "Zim." This he purchased for a trifle and decided that it should form the basis of the course. It was written by Eugene Zimmerman then the leading cartoonist for *Judge*, and a man was sent up to Horseheads, New York, to purchase all of Mr. Zimmerman's rights in the book. The publication, as far as Zimmerman was concerned, had not been successful and he was glad to sell out for a nominal sum.

The man then returned to Scranton and purchased a lot of art magazines. From these he clipped profusely. Then he pasted together extracts from Zimmerman's book and even the art journals. These were prepared as a number of books, which were thereafter known as the course of instruction. The text of the book had absolutely no application to the cartoons or sketches upon its pages. But what of it?

The management wrote to all the leading cartoonists in the United States and Canada, requesting each to send

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a sketch of himself and some of his best cartoons. Many responded. Their responses were published in the magazine. Then the management advertised that all the artists who had answered the request and whose names appeared in the magazine were members of the faculty of the Institute.

That is why the chief cartoonists of the country happened to be in Harrisburg for the trial later. After the case had progressed for two or three days, a plea of guilty was entered, and each of the defendants was fined \$5,000 and directed to return all monies collected by them to its former students. All of its property was destroyed and the concern was put out of business.

There were many amusing and pathetic things in connection with the case. Here is one: A tall, lean, gaunt, poorly-clad woman, six feet five inches tall, carrying a carpet bag and a basket, came into the office of the United States District Attorney and announced that she was a witness. She was brought on from Kansas. Mr. Hourigan, of the prosecution, asked her what her business was and she said, "I sell east" [yeast]. She then asked how long she might be kept in Harrisburg, and was told possibly a week. She hoped it wouldn't be any longer, for she had only brought enough food in her basket to last a week. This poor woman had been led to think that some day Homer Davenport would fade into insignificance and that she would be at the top of the leading cartoonists of America. Many other unfortunates were gulled.

THE STORY OF TWO EXTRAS

My first "Extra" to tell a big bit of news was at Orbisonia. The *Dispatch* told, within a few minutes, the story of the shooting of President Garfield by Guiteau.

In Harrisburg we have been particularly proud of the way the *Telegraph* surpassed all its contemporaries in heralding the signing of the Armistice that brought the World War to an end. In this achievement "Bill" Meck, an Associated Press operator, played an important part.

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He slept all night at the instrument, with both ears open. Those of the staff who remained on duty with him were fast asleep on desks and on the floor. Finally at 2:46 on the morning of November 11th the Associated Press flashed the news that electrified the world. Thus we were able to get out an extra of an evening paper in advance of a morning contemporary already prepared with the night news service and its regular force of employes on the job. Our own workers were summoned by key men trained for the emergency.

THE HUMAN BISHOP TALBOT

Among my good friends I am proud to number a man whose achievements would have justified many extra editions, the Rt. Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, now head of the Diocese of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Until recently he was the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church of the United States. He has found time in his busy and eventful life to write several books and these are characterized by the human element which is an attribute of this distinguished prelate. His life has been full of the romance of adventure, and there is in him the stuff of which heroes are made. He was for a time head of the Harrisburg Diocese. We sat side by side during the impressive ceremonies incident to our induction with others of a class of novitiates into the mysteries of the Scottish Rite bodies, thirty-second degree, in the Valley of Harrisburg.

During this higher Masonic function I learned to appreciate the fine qualities of Bishop Talbot. He is so human, so devoid of those mannerisms and affectations which too often characterize the clergy to the serious injury of their service for God and the detriment of the great cause of which they are ambassadors. He delights in a good story, and he has no superior as a teller of tales. A Missouri boy, trained for the ministry, and later a missionary bishop among the Indians and cowboys in the Wyoming-Idaho region for twelve years, he accumulated a great fund of stories which he tells with a real genius that makes him a pastmaster of narrative.

His contact with the friendly and lively denizens of the open spaces has given him a conception of the frontier days which is the possession of few.

BUFFALO BILL AND THE WILD STEER

Talbot's tales of the old West remind me of the most picturesque and popular character developed on the plains, William F. Cody. "Buffalo Bill" was the hero of the boys of my day, and until his death a few years ago held the respect and admiration of thousands who saw him in the great spectacular show that he originated and which not only thrilled Americans, but also the people overseas. His Indian attack on a Deadwood coach, a reminder of the experiences of the travelers through the wild country, has never been surpassed for naturalness. Distinguished members of the nobility, kings and queens, financiers and high officials consented to become passengers in the famous coach as Buffalo Bill's Indians, who not long before had been identified with the wars of the savages, hurled themselves upon the old mail coach and with blood-curdling yells threatened the passengers until Buffalo Bill and his scouts came gallantly to the rescue.

As a newspaper man I knew Buffalo Bill and always admired him for his modesty and real worth. On one occasion when a Wild West performance was being given at Harrisburg, some of the employes carelessly permitted a wild steer to escape. In its flight it threatened the thousands who were pressing towards the great enclosure in which the show was to appear. Buffalo Bill, seated on his famous horse and about to lead the triumphal procession, observed what had happened. He dashed after the steer, directing his riders in such a way as to avoid serious injury to the hapless crowd. What he said to the employes responsible for the incident is better left unsaid here. It was a picturesque outburst.

No one who saw Buffalo Bill in a really great reproduction of scenes on the plains and in the mountains of

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the West will ever forget the dignity and romance and gallantry embodied in his sweeping salute from the saddle as he introduced his famous "Congress of Rough Riders of the World!" These rough riders included splendid horsemen from the cowboys of the West, Indians, Sheiks, Cossacks and other famous equestrians from all parts of the world.

TIRED OF NEW YORK

Lament has been made frequently that the day when men wanted a life in the open country, like that on which Buffalo Bill thrived, has long passed away. Everybody, we are told, wants to live in a city, and if possible New York. But the preference for New York is not as strong as it was, if I may judge from an experience several years ago when I went to that city with one of the executives of the *Telegraph* to consult with a number of applicants on an important position then open on our newspaper. Appointments with the applicants had been staged every half hour and continued throughout most of the day. After the conferences were at an end and we had returned home I could remember with a peculiar sensation one thing which ran through all the day's talk—that practically every one of these bright and experienced and capable men was tired of New York and wanted to get out of the city into a more reasonable and livable atmosphere. Several of the men were holding responsible and lucrative positions on New York newspapers, but they confessed that, for families, the big city was neither ideal nor desirable, especially for the rearing of children.

In several cases these men had gone to New York from smaller places in the hope of establishing themselves for the rest of their lives. "I find that my wife and children are sinking under the New York burden," said one of those interviewed. Practically all agreed that there was much in life beside salary and several declared that they could no longer withstand the pressure. These pointed out that supreme selfishness controlled

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the actions of the thousands with whom they had to deal and insisted that there was no sympathy or appreciation of the fitness of things in their daily contacts. No wonder they wanted to get away from the city by the Hudson.

As the metropolis of the United States the City of New York assumes airs of importance entirely out of harmony with its relation to the rest of the country. Not long ago William Hodge, playwright and actor, gave expression to some pertinent views on this superior attitude of the average New Yorker. Of course, his comment had reference particularly to that class of professional actors and actresses which believes that any place outside of New York is a "tank" town and not worthy their attention, but Hodge points out that he has found the smaller cities and towns quite as discriminating in histrionic matters as Broadway. He even intimates that the New York patrons of the theater are no more capable of judging the merits of a play or an actor than those of the smaller communities throughout the country. It is his judgment that the average actor or actress would be the better for a whirl around the so-called "tank" towns before appearing in New York City. This squares with my own observation of the metropolis and its racial groups. Having long since lost its relation to the country as an American city, it is rather absurd for New York to assume airs without justification or excuse.

My own heart is ever turning away from city surroundings to the country where I was a blacksmith's son.

WHEN PRESIDENT COOLIDGE WAS A BLACKSMITH

Another man who delights in the country is William H. Ridgway of Coatesville, who lives in the midst of some of Pennsylvania's most delightful scenery. Not long ago he told me of a visit to the White House with his Iron Rose Bible Class of men, most of them skilled mill workers. "We had a fine reception," said Ridgway, "and surprised President Coolidge with a unique gift,

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the handiwork of one of our members who is a genius in forging all sorts of artistic things out of iron. In this instance he had hammered for the President a remarkable iron rose, petals, leaf and stem, and this was mounted cleverly and placed in a beautiful case with an inscription. It was my job to make the presentation speech. The President responded most graciously. He said his father once had a blacksmith shop and that he [the President] was the blacksmith."

One of the fine things about President Coolidge is the fact that he believes in work as one of the essential elements of success in life. He insists that only through such training can the American boy achieve all that is possible in our American scheme of development.

ANXIETY ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Training in work and in education are two of the essential things in life. So we rejoice in the advances made by education. Yet we wonder if we are not in danger of advancing too rapidly. Unless I fail to read aright the signs of the times, we are swinging into a reaction that may have serious consequences unless steps are taken at once to avert the impending disaster. When Thaddeus Stevens staked his whole political future upon the common-school plan, and only saved the day by an epic speech which turned defeat into victory in the Legislature at Harrisburg, public education was given its greatest impetus.

But there are those still strong for the public schools who are now wondering whether the big idea of Stevens and his associates is not being swamped to some extent in the development of an educational system far beyond the original idea of the founders. Many friends of education have expressed to me their fears of the outcome of too great expansion in public school policies. Often I have heard these earnest and thoughtful men declare that too many purely extraneous things have crept into the public schools of the present day; that, instead of giving a thorough study in the recognized fundamentals for every

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boy and girl, the effort now is to prepare them for entrance to college or university. Thus, while the school days of girls and boys of the average American family end with the high school, they are expected to take a course of study such as might be adopted properly in a purely preparatory school, and not in a school that must send these young people out into the world for a life career.



CHAPTER XIII

SOME NEWSPAPER MEN I HAVE KNOWN

SINCE Harrisburg is a news and political center, for many years the most brilliant writers of the country have been attracted to Capitol Hill through stupendous party and factional conflicts staged by Quay and his opponents, the Camerons and their followers, and others of outstanding importance in the political world. During the long contest in the Legislature over the reelection of Senator Quay, and especially the famous State Convention which defeated the forces led by Governor Hastings against Quay, almost half a hundred well-known writers from Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and elsewhere concentrated in Harrisburg and interpreted every act of that hectic and sensational body.

A BRILLIANT ARRAY

Among the newspaper men with whom I was associated for years in the active work of a correspondent were Colonel Henry Hall, still on the firing line at Washington; Robert Simpson, a prince of men; Alexander P. Moore, later Ambassador to Spain; James S. Henry, one of the finest, and long stationed at Washington; Harry S. Calvert, Chester Potter, Samuel Hudson, Chris Evans, Robert W. Herbert, Robert Brannan, Howard Derr, John R. Ball, George J. Brennan, Walter J. Christy, James Israel, Leon Bancroft, A. W. Crum, John

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E. Gable, John P. Dohoney, Charles H. Heustis, George Welshons, Colonel George Nox McCain, T. M. Jones, Harry Wilson, George M. Wanbaugh, Harry F. Stanton, A. K. Pedrick, the Goshorn brothers—Larry and Bob—Howard D. Potts, John F. Short, Peter J. Bolger, W. A. Connor, Robert Haight, James L. Knapp, John F. Dwyer, Charles Michael, P. J. Hoban, George Barton, Charles Dorworth, David Smiley, George A. Jones. “Joe” Mackrell, E. J. Hart, E. C. Howland, John Reitingen, and others of the Old Guard whose names may have escaped me.

A MATCHLESS COTERIE

Governor Sproul once gave a dinner at the Executive Mansion in honor of his fellows of the newspaper fraternity. We who were proud to be present thought with regret of chivalrous souls of other days like “Bob” Simpson, conscientious and true as steel; Bancroft, the big and lovable interpreter of Pittsburgh politics; “Jim” Israel, who always wrote “a piece” as the spirit moved him and who despised the sham of demagogues; Chris Evans, quiet, imperturbable and accurate to the last degree; Hughey Donnelly, whose rare Irish wit found vent in written and spoken word; Knapp, the careful investigator of hidden intrigue; “Sam” Hudson, who never permitted an unimportant fact to spoil a good story; Rodearmel, who saw more men make their exit at the end of a rope than any newspaper man in the world and whose thrilling stories of official executions filled pages of the metropolitan press; Wanbaugh, the most industrious writer of a generation; Phillips, who later won fame as an American correspondent abroad; Welshons, brilliant, versatile, vitriolic in his treatment of the four-flushers of his period and who wrote his last message on the wall of a Harrisburg hotel in his own blood; “Tommy” Jones, who retained his youth until the end and whose proudest recollection was his service as a drummer boy at Camp Curtin in the Civil War days; Ed. Mott, the famous inventor of Pike County bear stories for the New York *Sun*, who found hunting snakes

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on Capitol Hill rather tame; "Jimmy" Sweeney, whose Irish recitations and droll humor enlivened every gathering of his fellows of the pen and whose criticism of boneheaded leadership in the Democratic party was as picturesque as anything Dooley ever created; Pedrick, whose solicitude for the legal and insurance interests was almost as touching as his careful oversight of the legislation of the Pennsylvania Railroad in those days when lawmakers found it absolutely essential to their well-being to travel frequently, accompanied by all their relatives, their pockets bulging with passes supplied by the much-heckled Pedrick; and Stofiel, whose admirable service for his Pittsburgh newspaper was rendered as he courageously fought a losing battle with death.

A SUGGESTION OF DANA

Charles Emory Smith was Postmaster General when I was appointed postmaster of Harrisburg in 1901. I knew him well as the editor-in-chief and guiding spirit of the old Philadelphia *Press*, for many years the outstanding Republican mouthpiece of the East. Mr. Smith was something more than an editor. He was an eloquent speaker and had much to do with the formulation of Republican policies and the writing of Republican platforms. As a stylist he had few superiors. His English was almost perfect, and he could state a forceful proposition in more convincing phrases than any writer within my memory. He suggested Charles A. Dana, but was without the latter's cleverness in phrase making. His arguments were clean-cut and dignified and when he appeared as an orator, as he did on many occasions, there was little to be desired either in the substance of his speeches or in the manner of presentation.

THE REVELATIONS OF PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA

I recall with interest the visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to the United States several years before the World War. He was elaborately entertained in New York and elsewhere and made a visit to Washington, where the gigantic Admiral von Tirpitz was always at

his heels as a sort of personal guard. Perhaps the most outstanding incident of his visit was the dinner given by Herman Ridder, publisher of a German newspaper, at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. The guest list included many of the prominent men of the United States. More than sixteen hundred attended the big banquet, and the menu was the most elaborate that could be devised. Souvenirs in the form of battleships and all manner of culinary concoctions with a papier-maché statue of the Prince were deposited at every plate. We all gave close attention to the remarks of Prince Henry when he strove to make it clear that he was conveying to the American newspaper men the compliments and good wishes of his imperial brother, the Kaiser. At the dinner it was sought to develop in every way how desirable was the friendly feeling of good fellowship between Germany and the United States. Whatever may be thought of the reception to Prince Henry, it was subsequently the opinion of many who attended that dinner that the event was conceived as a sort of forerunner of what was to happen in a few years when Germany broke loose.

Manifestly the Prussian war lord wanted the United States to remain neutral and give him an opportunity to clean up Europe for his own purposes, leaving the United States as a sort of second phase of his imperialism to come later. I was told in the summer of 1911 as I sat at a luncheon table with the commander of a battery near the Hotel Adlon in Berlin that Germany would be compelled to resist her enemies who were then encroaching upon her in every direction. He was particularly indignant that England should close colonization areas to the Germans. It was his opinion that in thus preventing the immigration of the growing German population the future of the empire was imperiled. "We shall be at war with England within ten years," exclaimed this artillery officer, "and I expect much sooner." As a matter of history it is now known that "*der tag*"

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was originally fixed for 1911, but was deferred for a time when England startled the naval world with her dreadnaughts.

NEWSPAPER MEN IN EUROPE

Our American party could only regard such a statement with amazement. We had not even dreamed of war, especially between two civilized nations such as Germany and England. I so expressed myself in commenting on his statement, but was impressed with the earnestness and the manifest honesty of his convictions. In the same conversation he referred to our "little army," suggesting that, of course, it could not withstand the great German army, concerning which he was vain and boastful. I observed as a kind of stray shot that he and all other Germans should remember that, while the American Army might be small numerically, it was large in devotion to country and possessed ability to take care of itself; that Americans were all soldiers but were not spending their time preparing for war. At least, I was not shooting far from the mark set by our American Ambassador, Gerard, when later, responding to a German suggestion that thousands of Germans in this country would rally to the defense of the Kaiser should a war ever occur between Germany and the United States, he declared with some heat that there was a lamp-post for every German in the United States who would turn against the country that had received him in a friendly way.

John H. Fahey, always a useful member of any newspaper conference, now a Worcester, Massachusetts, publisher, was one of the active managers of the Boston Chamber of Commerce tour of Europe in 1911. This was known as the Boston tour because it fell to the Chamber of Commerce of the Hub to arrange the thousand and one details. I shall always look back upon that experience with genuine pleasure. Fahey may not have been a public speaker, though he was a writer of force and clarity before that invasion of Europe, but he certainly

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could easily have qualified as a long-distance endurance orator when he got home again. He was tactful, interesting and always said the right thing. Frederic C. Howe, a former Ohio editor and publicist, was also one of the spellbinders, and still others of the party were called upon to respond to the hundreds of official and personal greetings from time to time.

NEWSPAPER MEN ON HORSEBACK

George Nox McCain, known throughout the United States as one of the old guard of newspaper writers and correspondents, was a member of the military staff of the late Governor Daniel H. Hastings. I can see him now on duty at Philadelphia during the dedication ceremonies some years ago of an imposing memorial in Fairmount Park. Sitting with others on a large stand near the memorial, we observed Colonel McCain approaching on his prancing charger. Suddenly as I watched admiringly my old friend a band blared forth a lively quickstep and McCain's steed went up in the air, much to the discomfort of the staff officer. McCain clung to the bridle rein as his frightened horse reared and plunged and finally tried to mount the wide circular steps and pedestal of the great memorial. Our hero's trousers gradually climbed toward his knees and his sword clanged, as a sword under such circumstances should, but Colonel McCain was game, and at last subdued the brute, much to his own relief and that of the crowd that watched in suspense the free exhibition of horsemanship. McCain has had many thrilling experiences before and since in all parts of the world, but he will never meet with a more trying adventure than he had that day in Fairmont Park. My idea is that Pegasus is about the only steed a newspaper man cannot always successfully negotiate.

"TOMMY" JONES ON PARADE

Most of those called upon to serve as assistant marshals and heralds so far as I can recall have not been remarkable equestrians. Thomas MacDowell Jones, long asso-



HOME OF GENERAL SIMON CAMERON



A GROUP OF NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS

Including Colonel George S. Johnson, Editor Harry Hall, and Colonel William Richardson

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ciated with me in earlier years on the Harrisburg *Telegraph*, was on an important occasion honored by appointment as aide in a big parade. He was nervous for several days before the great event and as the hour drew near was almost on the verge of prostration. But he felt he must go through with it, even should it prove his last ride. Presently his horse, a fine black with burnished bridle and much shining ornamentation, was brought out and our friend after much effort managed to get aboard. But he never appeared at the head of his division. His associates cheered their comrade encouragingly as the bugle blared and the parade moved. His shiny stovepipe hat responded to every jump of the trick horse and soon would have enveloped his whole head but for the ears that stopped the skidding headgear. Then his stirrups touched the neck of the plunging charger that by now had executed a flank movement, breaking up the lines of the spectators and evoking their profane and hostile imprecations. Gradually it occurred to "Tommy," who was a drummer boy at Gettysburg, that dying in battle was much more comfortable than what he was doing at the moment on the streets of Harrisburg. So he alighted from the beast that had caused him much humiliation and physical torture and led the steed back to the stable, a sadder and a wiser man.

EDGAR FAHS SMITH, PRINTER AND PHILOSOPHER

Few people who know of his great work as a public educator have any knowledge of the early printing and newspaper experience of Edgar Fahs Smith, former president and provost emeritus of the University of Pennsylvania. Not only is he an educator and a scientist of note; he is a philosopher pre-eminent. His printing career began in the office of a weekly newspaper at York, known as *The Lutheran*, on which he learned to compose and set up type forms and do almost everything. In fact, this was the story of the average printer apprentice half a century ago. Subsequently in the York

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County Academy he was a member of "The Junior Scientific Society." This organization conceived the idea of publishing a monthly, *Our Effort*. Dr. Smith set nearly every page, sixteen of them, of that octavo publication. He also wrote some of the wonderful stories contained in the ambitious publication. He says of his printing outfit that it was fairly good for ordinary printing and had a foot-press.

While in the office of *The Lutheran* a fellow devil and himself conceived the idea that there ought to be a daily paper for York. So after much talk the two boys made bold to learn from their foreman whether he would permit them to use the old Franklin press and whether the office would sell them the paper. Their plan was to put out an evening publication, setting up the type and doing everything connected with this wonderful daily after five o'clock each evening. Then at about eight o'clock they would go on the streets, calling out "*Evening Star—one cent!*" This enterprise was carried on for about two weeks, while their elders smiled. Then the boys were pretty nearly dead and practically bankrupt, as Dr. Smith told me. The former head of the University of Pennsylvania also worked for a time—perhaps three months—with another friend and an expert printer in issuing a monthly paper called *The Poulterer*. Then this partner was appointed mail-agent on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and that was the end of the new monthly.

Dr. Smith was presented with the Priestly medal for his splendid work in chemical research in 1926.

THE FATHER OF RICHARD HARDING DAVIS

L. Clarke Davis, father of Richard Harding Davis, was managing editor of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* during part of my period of service with that newspaper. I found him most helpful in suggestion and counsel. I recall a conversation in which he told me of his two boys and their pledge to abstain from intoxicating drink until they had completed their college course. It is my recollection that his own sideboard was always supplied with

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the usual pre-Volstead brands, but that he urged his sons to let the stuff alone until they could decide for themselves whether they wanted to indulge.

PENNYPACKER AND THE PRIMER

Charles E. Dorworth, of Bellefonte, is first of all a newspaper man, and a good one. This anecdote has to do with the period when he was a political writer on the *Philadelphia Press*. Soon after the election of Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker as Governor, all the newspaper fellows were energetically engaged in trying to pry loose the cabinet selections of the Governor-elect, but with no success. Pennypacker was not susceptible to the usual blandishments of the interviewer and he was particularly indifferent, owing to the criticism of certain papers during his campaign. Furthermore, he was given to assuming a mysterious attitude on all matters appertaining to his new public duties. But he liked Dorworth, and the gang concluded that his personal fondness for the *Press* representative might induce him to disclose his cabinet appointments. So it fell out that Charley was to make the attempt. He agreed to undertake the mission and presently showed up at the Pennypacker residence. He was greeted in a kindly way, and was soon in the midst of a conversation which promised to bear fruit. Dorworth made no headway, however, and finally rose to leave. "Wait a minute," said Pennypacker, who was a bibliophile and antiquarian, as well as a successful author. "I have something I want to show you." Immediately the newspaper ambassador saw visions of the cabinet and he could scarcely restrain his impatience as the Governor-elect disappeared, quickly returning with a small volume. Handing it to Dorworth he said in his whimsical way, "Here's a most interesting Pennsylvania primer. I thought you would like to examine it."

Not far from the mountain home of Dorworth we find a writer and philosopher of a different school, but also a lover of mankind. John F. Short is the guiding genius of the *Clearfield Republican*, but a dyed-in-the-wool

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Jacksonian. He is one of the old-timers. He has turned up so frequently in Harrisburg for conventions and conferences and sessions of the Legislature that he may be set down as of Clearfield and Harrisburg. In the Quay-Cameron days he was close in for all political developments. What he wasn't told he guessed, and usually without error. He always calls a spade a spade and when he expresses an opinion on political skullduggery, as in the super-counting primary performances in Allegheny County, where he once worked on Chris Magee's *Pittsburgh Times*, he doesn't mince words. It's a way this vigorous editor on the west branch of the Susquehanna has; he couldn't do otherwise. Being a born fighter and a former United States Marshal, this Clearfieldian doubtless looked upon the campaign of 1926, from the Democratic viewpoint, as a flivver. He probably found his party leaders beyond hope or counsel. He describes these as the "unterrified but unorganized."

McLEAN AND THE EVENING BULLETIN

Of all the constructive and sane newspaper publishers I have known, none has impressed me more than the genius who has erected upon the foundations of a somewhat moribund evening sheet a remarkably successful and influential newspaper property—successful in its earning power and influential from the standpoint of wise policies and safe leadership. I refer, of course, to W. L. McLean, of the Philadelphia *Bulletin*. For years I have counted Mr. McLean among my friends and counsellors. No one can talk with him without realizing his grasp of the fundamental factors in conservative newspaper building. He told me years ago how he had come to Philadelphia with Calvin Wells on the Philadelphia *Press*, and how, later, he became interested in the *Bulletin*. His stalwart sons are associated with him in the conduct of the *Bulletin*, and as my own boys are in the *Telegraph* organization we find much of mutual interest in discussing the problems of the newspaper industry. Such men as McLean are leavening the whole lump of news-

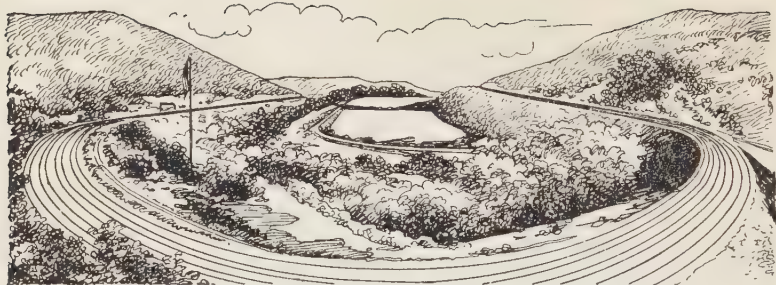
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papardom. As sanity displaces the harum-scarum practices which still obtain here and there the press will grow in power and influence for the good of the nation. McLean is a sheet anchor—a granite rock in a weary land of newspaper experimentation and commercialism. His example is bound to have a wholesome effect.

FICTITIOUS WAR STORIES

“Bob” Goshorn, a brother of Larry—both were active for years in Pittsburgh newspaper circles—was with other war correspondents at Camp Meade, the big concentration camp on the edge of Harrisburg in the Spanish-American war. He gave most of us a lot of worry without intending to do so. Boyd Hamilton, now Governor Fisher’s private secretary, was also busy as a nailer covering the camp, finding thus a kind of outlet for his natural combativeness. He had about as much respect for the shave-tail lieutenants of that day as Goshorn, the imaginative. “Bob” found it easier and much more comfortable to break bread and occasionally a bottle with the officers at the Harrisburg hotels than to break ground in the extended camp area. He had a graphic and lurid style that gave his fictional reports of the doings of Camp Meade a Wild-West flavor that got the rest of us into hot water with the newspapers we represented. But Goshorn never flickered an eyelash when he was confronted by the newspaper corps and was asked to confirm his weird tales. We couldn’t do more than advise our night editors that war was hell in more ways than one and that the wild “Bob”-cat from Pittsburgh was running a little war of his own far from the field of actual strife.

When the Philadelphia *Inquirer* passed into control of the Elverson family I was engaged by Colonel James H. Lambert as Harrisburg correspondent. It soon became a leader of the Republican press in the East and the monumental building which now is its home stands as a colossus piercing the sky with an impressive tower, an outstanding newspaper success.



CHAPTER XIV

FROM AN EDITOR'S LETTER FILES

KIND letters are refined gold of any life, and it has been my custom for years to keep in a separate file communications from old newspaper friends, men of affairs, public officials, and others on subjects of mutual interest. In this chapter I mention a few letters which in a measure emphasize certain features of the last generation or more.

A TRIBUTE TO NEWSPAPER MEN

Of all the newspaper men of my acquaintance none is more devoted to the best traditions of the craft than James M. Brown, presiding genius of *Editor and Publisher*, an outstanding and ably-conducted newspaper magazine. In a letter to me acknowledging a congratulatory message on an article which he had published, giving expression to the ideals which had dominated his life, he said:

“In my brief newspaper career I have come in contact with many men who are directing great newspapers both from the upstairs and the downstairs standpoints, and I have found that as a rule these men are spiritually minded, on fire with zeal for righteousness, as I have been pleased in a number of my public addresses to phrase it—men who are concerned more about the public service that they render their community than they are

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concerned about the money or any other material return they can get out of the business."

A FRIENDLY TAP

Now and then, as the spirit moves me, and in consonance with my belief that public officials of all degrees should have the encouragement of a friendly tap on the shoulder, an expression of approval of their public acts, I have taken it upon myself to advise them in a friendly and interpretative way of public sentiment concerning their official actions. Such a letter brought a note of thanks from President Calvin Coolidge for a congratulatory message on his inaugural address:

"Accept my thanks for your generous letter of congratulations following inauguration and for your generous estimate of the inaugural address. I feel the utmost appreciation of the confidence you express for the administration and you may be sure I shall make every effort to deserve it."

Under date of October 8, 1925, the President again wrote me in response to some comment on his administration:

"Such a report of the sentiment toward the administration could not fail to be encouraging and helpful and when it comes from a man of your wide experience it is doubly so. I hope that you will always feel free to let me know conditions as you find them."

HAMPTON L. CARSON AND FRIENDSHIP

Among those whom I am pleased to cherish as sincere and helpful friends is Hampton L. Carson, a former president of the American Bar Association and Attorney General in the cabinet of Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, who wrote me not long ago regarding some recollections of mine which were appearing in the *Harrisburg Telegraph* concerning Pennsylvania officials. He said, in part:

"I have read with pleasure and with admiration of the manner in which you have sketched the characteristics

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of each man. . . . As the years run on—I am now in my seventy-fourth year—these friendships are the best part of life.”

Mr. Carson, represents the highest type of the American citizen. He has always impressed me with his splendid patriotism, his loyalty to his country and his State, and, above all else, the quality of his mind and heart. Such men are an inspiration to others and contribute to their country such service as constitutes in the long run a heritage that will be treasured throughout the centuries.

A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH

On February 22, 1901, when I was appointed postmaster at Harrisburg, the first congratulatory message came in a telegram from the New York *Evening Sun*, which I had represented in Harrisburg for several years. This was the first notice official or otherwise of my appointment. Then followed a wire from James S. Henry, an old newspaper associate at Washington, who apprised me of the fact that the appointment had just come into the Senate. John P. Elkin, a former Attorney General of Pennsylvania, was a close second in a wire from Indiana, Pennsylvania. Many others followed. These messages of good will have confirmed my theory of life—that we get out of it in the way of kindness and courtesy just about what we put into it. It was especially gratifying to have the endorsement of newspaper friends and of civic and political bodies for a third term as postmaster, including the Chamber of Commerce. It was not known outside of two or three people that I desired to retire at the end of the second term to give entire attention to my newspaper business, but I was prevailed upon to accept another term in order to prevent possible political complications over a successor. About that time I was being violently assailed in a certain Democratic quarter with the hope of preventing my reappointment, the critic and partisan evidently not being aware of my indifference to another term as postmaster.

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Friends determined that it would be my best vindication to have President Roosevelt appoint me for a third term, and this was done, the President remarking in the presence of his cabinet near the closing hours of his administration: "Stackpole has a clean bill of health, let the commission issue."

"ADMIRABLE COMBINATION!"

Now let me say that my first meeting with Theodore Roosevelt stands out as one of the most living memories of my life. While in Washington on some matter relating to the Harrisburg Post Office, I came upon my old friend and newspaper associate, James S. Henry. When the President's name was mentioned in our chat, Henry asked whether I would like to meet him. Of course we were off soon for the White House. We were ushered into a room which communicated with that occupied by the head of the nation, and talked of the "good old days," forgetting the purpose of our visit. Suddenly the door from the President's office was flung open and the dynamic "Rough Rider" fairly jumped into our presence. I emerged as from a dream to hear Henry say, "Mr. President, I want to introduce an old newspaper friend of mine who is also a Postmaster." Grasping my hand the President explosively remarked. "Admirable combination! Admirable combination!" his teeth showing in a friendly smile. He chatted for a few minutes, then returned to his business of meeting people. Then Henry looked at me and laughed. This interview gave him inspiration for a humorous newspaper story in which my first meeting with the great statesman and leader of his countrymen was described in "Jim's" best fashion. He had a quiet humor which had full play in his story of this incident.

On my reappointment as postmaster in 1905, I was glad to receive from Bishop J. W. Shanahan, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Harrisburg, a cordial letter:

"I am delighted to hear of your reappointment for another term, and I am sure that all the people of

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Harrisburg are equally pleased. May your shadow never grow less!"

My relations with the leading Catholics of Harrisburg have always been of the most friendly character, and during my service as postmaster I had the earnest cooperation of Bishop Shanahan and Catholics generally. While an active reporter—which I am to this day, as newspaper men all are—the covering of church feasts and the solemn rites of pontifical occasions frequently bothered me, because as a Presbyterian, my education in this respect had been sadly neglected. However, I had a good friend and jovial in Rev. Father McBride, then the popular rector of St. Patrick's Pro-Cathedral in Harrisburg. He it was who presented me with a small manual that made clear to my benighted mind the meaning of the different religious feasts and festivals. Always after that I managed to give in my newspaper stories of Catholic services a reasonably correct report of what happened, and why. Father McBride's fine sense of humor and his everyday understanding of the world and those who dwell in it, making allowance always for their human weaknesses and frailties, continue to this day a fragrant memory.

ONE OF US

As one of us, printer and newspaper man, letters from the late President Warren G. Harding were always received with pleasure. Here is one, dated January 6, 1923:

"I have before me your note, of January fourth, conveying the cordial invitation to meet with the newspaper men of Pennsylvania on February sixth at Harrisburg. I am sure I do not need to tell you that it would be a great pleasure to accept and be with you, but to my regret I have been unable on account of the pressure of public duties and the demands of personal concerns to make any engagements for a long time past that would take me out of Washington. Conditions in this regard have not changed and do not seem likely to change for a considerable period. I am consequently compelled to

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express my regrets; and in doing so I want to add the sincere wish that the gathering may be a notably successful one and furnish inspiration to the continuance of the splendid work of the Pennsylvania newspapers."

President Harding never lost interest in printers and newspaper men. He resembled General Cameron in this.

AN ERROR EXPLAINED

One of the treasured personal letters from my files is a friendly note from Chester S. Lord, famous managing editor of the New York *Sun*, dated November 9, 1900. This had to do with a piece of political reporting that is a matter of prideful memory. But here is the letter:

"In reply to yours of November 7, I beg to say that in preparation for election we set up a list of Congressmen probably elected and waited the returns from our correspondents to correct it. Your matter was received promptly, the corrections were made on a proofsheets which was sent to the composing room—but for some reason or other they were not made in the type that went into the first edition. They were made all right in the second and later edition. If the composing room had not fallen down on us we would have had the whole Congress of the United States within an inch of right, as it was right in the introduction but not in the list of names itself.

"Thank you very much for your prompt and correct service. We have always found you entirely trustworthy in everything, and it has been a great comfort to us."

This had to do with an exciting and important congressional election which drew to a close in November, 1900. As the Harrisburg correspondent of the *Sun* I had made a particular effort at the instance of Mr. Lord to report the Pennsylvania districts accurately, my acquaintance with political leaders and the conditions in the different sections of the State making possible a close estimate of the results. As it turned out, I was successful in predicting every winner, even in several exceedingly doubtful districts. But the *Sun* appeared in Harris-

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burg the morning after the election with two or three names of candidates who had lost and whose names had not been included in my estimate. Mr. Lord's letter explains how it happened. This bit of reporting gave me much satisfaction, owing to the supreme effort of the *Sun* to publish the complete list of congressmen-elect without delay. Accuracy in reporting is a lesson most difficult to teach the young reporter. Too often he regards fact as of no importance when it kills a good story.

THANKS FOR A TURN DOWN

Among the State's successful newspaper editors in Pennsylvania is a comparatively young man in whose veins courses the blood of a fine line of writers. I turn now to a letter which he wrote me a few years ago in appreciation of what I had done for him when he became a candidate for an important public office. What he said in this frank letter may be of some service to other young newspaper writers:

"You also helped me in another way without knowing it. Possibly the incident has escaped your memory. The day I applied to you for a place on the *Telegraph* staff, now more than twelve years ago, and was—properly—rejected, I resolved to turn over a new leaf and make good. I believe I was actuated by a desire to prove to you that you were wrong.

"It is strange how things work out. You have always been uniformly kind and courteous to me, but the very best thing you ever did for me was to deny my request for a job. That denial stirred my dormant pride more than anything else could have done. It turned my face from the setting sun of oblivion to the rising sun of deeds—deeds mostly for the benefit of the other fellow. I have found that such a course pays big dividends.

"I have waited twelve years to thank you. I do so now from the bottom of my heart."

This letter touched me deeply and I give it as a manly expression from one who has found himself and is now maintaining the best ideals in the conduct of a successful

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newspaper. Also, I am glad to record that he is a leader in civic affairs.

SOME OF MY BOYS

Looking back over the years, I am glad to mark the progress of some of my boys. One of these is Robert Emmet MacAlarney, now editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. He began his newspaper work on the *Harrisburg Telegraph* when I was city editor, and his rise as a writer of short stories and a clever journalist is not a matter of surprise to those who appreciated his high character, ability, and industry. His uncle, Mathias Wilson MacAlarney, was the controlling owner and editor of the *Telegraph* when I became a member of its staff in January, 1883. When he died in 1900 I stepped into his place at the helm and assumed the business and editorial direction of one of the oldest newspapers in the country, now rapidly approaching its centennial anniversary. Things were moving swiftly about this time and I was much pleased to receive a letter from the brilliant nephew of my late respected chief. Robert wrote:

"I have heard about the appointment as Postmaster and send you my real congratulations. Somehow I should have hated to see anyone else get it after Uncle Wilson's death. But it is different with you going in. I hope it will be yours until you throw it over for something better. I also understand you are going to be at the head of the *Telegraph* again. I hope that is true, too. Now that you have landed the Postmastership, there will be a lot of people who will deal you make-believe good wishes, while their own disappointment rankles. So it may not be disagreeable to get one of the real kind from one who hasn't the tiniest of axes to grind and who has always recalled you as when he began under you a sadly green reporter—a clever gentleman who still spells 'honor' with a capital 'H' in the good old-fashioned way. Heaven send us more of it."

This letter, so generous and so sincere, was greatly appreciated as it indicated the friendly attitude of the Mac-

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Alarney family toward me. It had been generally understood that Mr. MacAlarney was to succeed Postmaster William Rodearmel, also an old newspaper correspondent, but death, in 1900, intervened before the appointment could be made.

THE VALUE OF NEWSPAPER TRAINING

"I am glad that I have the approval of my old friends," says Judge Harry S. McDevitt, commenting on some favorable observations on his service in the Philadelphia courts in my summer letters from the White Mountains, "and I realize every day that my training in the newspaper business is of inestimable value."

Judge McDevitt, in addition to his discipline and experience as a newspaper man in Philadelphia, was also the executive secretary of William Cameron Sproul during his four years as Governor. This period on Capitol Hill gave the young lawyer and journalist ample opportunity for the study of human nature in its rough and subtle phases as a rigid course of preparation for service in the judiciary.

HE STOOD ASIDE FOR OTHERS

With a view to cheering the late Judge George B. Orlady on his retirement in 1925 from the Superior Court bench, I wrote a little appreciation of his work for the *Telegraph*. I had known him as District Attorney of Huntingdon County, where I first served as a grand juror, and with growing admiration and respect had watched his increasing usefulness in his chosen career. He would have made a fine surgeon and physician—for this he was trained—but law and politics had a larger appeal to him, and in all the years of our friendship he continued to increase in the confidence and favor of the people. As a prosecuting officer for his county, later an officer of the National Guard, head of the Masonic fraternity in Pennsylvania—intensely interested in the building and administration of the Masonic Homes, a great philanthropic undertaking near Elizabethtown,

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Pennsylvania—and for many years the wise and prudent presiding judge of the State's intermediate court, Judge Orlady played well his part. He might easily have been Governor of the State, but he stood aside for others, and spent the sunset years of his life in the old home town on the banks of the Blue Juniata. From there he sent me this message:

“A friend hands me the *Telegraph* of last evening and I thank you heartily for your kind notice of my return to the private station.

“Whatever of success I have had, a very large and controlling element has been the continued support of good and potential friends of whom you have ever been in the front ranks.”

THE PRESS “THE MAIN DIVISION”

Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee in the Harding campaign, realized early in that contest the importance of steady support from the Republican press. Toward the conclusion of that sweeping and significant campaign he wrote me from headquarters as follows:

“I know it is not necessary to write you to keep up the work till the very last minute, and I am not writing you for that purpose. I want you to do this, of course, and I know you will, because we want to make the victory so big that it will forever make certain that a responsible political party cannot avoid responsibility for maladministration. I hope the time never comes in this country when either party can avoid responsibility.

“Through all this I have felt very deeply a sense of personal responsibility, and have taken it all rather seriously because I always felt that it was far more than a party matter. In all of the effort you have carried a large load. I have always believed and certainly know now that the Republican press is not the right flank of the army, as sometimes suggested—it is the main division. I have appreciated your cooperation and sym-

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pathy more than I can tell you, and I just want to tell you this now."

BOYS THE SAME EVERYWHERE

Those of my readers who do not know William H. Ridgway, of Coatesville, an aggressive ambassador of Christ, whose writings are in harmony with those of Bruce Barton and other interpreters of practical Christianity, should find out something about him and thereby discover his fine attitude toward worthwhile things. His comments on the International Uniform Sunday School lessons, his booklets and talks to business men and his large interest in the Y. M. C. A. and other religious movements, have given him a standing among men everywhere which is unique. He has made so plain and helpful the lessons of life from the standpoint of the business man that his admirers are a multitude. After reading my little book in which are recounted boyhood experiences in the Juniata Valley he wrote me:

"I received your book and read some of it last night with a great deal of interest and no little amusement. Like Mark Twain, it is my habit to read in bed and for an hour or so every night before I go to sleep. You can imagine my interest and delight when I found that you were doing up on the Juniata exactly the same things that I was doing at the same time down here on the Brandywine, even to the extent of the good licking you got. I fancied I could see you dancing around and yelling 'I'll never do it again!' However, I am sorry to say I was more persistent in playing hooky than you apparently were; in fact, playing hooky was chronic with me, and I used tobacco (both smoked it and chewed it) until I was fifty years old. I have not touched tobacco for years.

"I hunted snappers in the Brandywine the same as you did in the Juniata. I tended cows, worked in the brick yard, helped the farmers, raised pigeons, robbed orchards and did everything that a live wide-awake harem-scarum boy of the small town usually does.

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“You need offer no apologies for the telling of the story; you are telling it all right. You know the old adage—‘Beauty unadorned is adorned the most.’ The books written by the stylist are not always the pleasantest books to read. The greatest of all books, which contains the best English ever written, does not go in for style. There are no Lafcadio Hearn among the writers, but men spoke simply as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. Nobody reads Addison any more because nobody wants to write with a ‘literary style.’ ”

No teacher of the Word gets deeper than Ridgway into the vitals of the living truth and his following is large.

THE SPLENDID COURAGE OF VICE-ADMIRAL SIMS

With two sons at the front in France during the World War, I was in touch from time to time with high officers of the Army and Navy whom it was my pleasure to know before the great cataclysm. Among these were Vice-Admiral William S. Sims, whom I knew and admired as a cadet at Annapolis; Major General Hunter Liggett; Brigadier General Frank R. McCoy, and others with equally fine records. When I was a young newspaper man at Orbisonia—my first away-from-home experience—Colonel and Mrs. A. W. Sims invited me to their hospitable home and made me feel less lonesome than would otherwise have been the case. Their son “Bill,” as we all knew him, gave promise in his Annapolis days of the fighting qualities which were later to make him famous as the Navy’s “Stormy Petrel,” but the Orbisonia folks had long before predicted for him a brilliant naval career. That he fulfilled in every way their prophecies and added by his service to the glory of the United States on the sea is now a matter of recorded history.

With faith in his sterling patriotism, confidence in his ability and certain of his splendid courage the host of Sims supporters waited patiently for the good news that was bound to come out of the fog and mists in which the United States destroyer forces were operating overseas,

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not once doubting a successful issue of the campaign against the German submarine.

SIMS AND THE SUBMARINE

In every way it was my aim and purpose to give support and encouragement to the Orbisonia scrapper in the World War, and the files of the *Telegraph* in that trying period and since will be found to contain much editorial backing for the commander-in-chief of the destroyer fleet. I quote from a letter dated London, June 27, 1918, in which the first definite assurance was conveyed of success in suppressing the submarine menace:

"It is very gratifying indeed to know that one's work is being appreciated at home, because our efforts on this side must necessarily depend upon the support that is given us by the whole people.

"I have been asked by the Secretary of the Navy to send a message to the American people to be published on July 4. This will doubtless appear before you receive this letter. In this message I have tried to accentuate the fact of our dependence upon those in our own country.

"You doubtless know by this time that we believe the submarine campaign to have been virtually won. We will, of course, suffer considerably more from the depredations of the submarines, but this power is manifestly on the decline and it cannot be long before they will find these operations to be unprofitable.

"You may be sure that the naval vessels engaged over here and their splendid personnel will do everything in their power to get along with the war. Our mission is to keep open the lines of communication of General Pershing's army and to suppress permanently the submarine menace. I feel sure that we will succeed in both of these objectives."

This was a cheering and hopeful message at a time when America was guessing as to the outcome, and any newspaper man will understand how much of a strain I was under in keeping inviolate in that crisis the con-

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fidence of the Vice-Admiral to whom the people were looking for relief.

DEGREES FOR A FIGHTER

Later, when Cambridge, Yale, Harvard, Pennsylvania and Columbia Universities, in addition to Juniata, Tufts, Union and Williams Colleges and the Stevens Institute, were conferring upon this great naval hero the honors due him, and official Washington did nothing, I was moved to pay tribute to his fine service and say, with the blunt frankness of a landsman, what my sense of justice dictated. It was my feeling that the Navy and its traditions, the emblazoned stories of John Paul Jones, Decatur, Perry, and others of glorious naval history, were being discredited in this failure to recognize in a way that would comport with the dignity and generosity of his country, the outstanding work of Vice Admiral Sims. Why this recognition should continue to be withheld I could not understand, but later, when some of his friends tried to have simple justice done in the case of Captain Douglas Eugene Dismukes, brave commander of the torpedoed Mount Vernon, I was permitted a glimpse behind the scenes at Washington. Writing to me from the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, May 4, 1921, Sims, the Pennsylvania sea fighter, gave his views of the matter in this remarkably temperate fashion:

“In regard to what you say concerning the failure of the government to recognize in any way my services on the other side, I understand perfectly well that a man who does not, in the estimation of those who have the decision, mind his own business cannot expect any reward. It would have been very simple for me not to have made a report concerning the dangerous errors in the conduct of our Navy during the first few months of the war, but it would have been very bad indeed for the morale of the Navy to have the conviction hanging over them that, unless such mistakes were revealed, they might expect them to be made again.

“It was for this reason that it seemed to me impera-

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tive that the whole matter be ventilated. Of course, one could not expect to win out, but the mere placing on official files of the necessary information will doubtless have the desired effect, in case we should, unfortunately, get into war again. I have not the slightest reason to suppose that the government will do anything in my case.

"All the same I thank you for your advocacy of this measure."

Sims and Dismukes, both now in honorable retirement, and having in their sturdy frames still many a fight, have given to the American Navy undying fame, but to me there is something of loss in the fact that the glory of great naval history and achievement is dimmed by the action of the higher-ups at Washington whose red-tape and moss-covered practices have harmed the Navy in the eyes of the world.

THE TRIUMPH OF IDEALS

During the closing days of the titanic struggle of the World War I received the following letter from Admiral Sims, dated London, December 5, 1918, a few days after the Armistice:

"I can well understand, I assure you, the painful anxiety of those of you whose sons or relatives have been exposed to the hardships and dangers of the sea and of battle, and all my sympathy goes out to those whose dear ones have made the supreme sacrifice in the holy cause of liberty and justice; while you, I am sure, equally appreciate the anxieties of those who have borne some measure of the responsibility for the conduct of our armed forces.

"The triumph of our ideals is, as you say, an occasion for mutual rejoicing. That the moral and physical courage and the admirable endurance of the Allied nations have, with the assistance of America, finally achieved such a complete victory over the powers of evil, renders it practically certain that never again will any nation invoke the power of might over right and justice.

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"I believe we may all look forward to a final adjustment that will not only square with the sentiment and opinion of our country, but which will establish a permanent relation between the civilized powers that will enable them to settle the inevitable differences of national interests without danger to the peace of the world."

SIMS' SENSATIONAL SPEECH

It may be recalled that in 1910—four years before the Great War—Admiral Sims made a speech in London which created a world-wide sensation. On that occasion he asserted that Great Britain and the United States would be found together in the next war. In a later Guildhall speech the fighting Admiral explained that in 1910, when sixteen American warships spent several weeks in European waters, he had submitted a secret report that, in his opinion and that of many American and British officers, war could not be put off more than four years.

General Frank Ross McCoy, son of a soldier of distinction, is also a native of Central Pennsylvania and, like Sims, whose home was only across the hills from Lewistown, is a Juniata Valley boy. He had his first baptism of fire in Cuba, and in the charge up San Juan Hill with Colonel Roosevelt was wounded, being sent home for surgical attention. His also is a career so distinguished that one need only mention that he was with Pershing in Mexico and France, that he led a brigade against the German legions, and that he was Major General Wood's chief assistant in the Philippines, to prove the quality of the service he has rendered and is still rendering his country in the Army.

TENER'S TRIBUTE

It has always been my endeavor to cooperate earnestly in a newspaper and personal way with those in official life to the end that the public service may be improved through building up an enlightened opinion of the people. Too often officials are commissioned by the voters to

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undertake important duties and then left to their own resources, while all evidence of public approval or disapproval of their actions is absolutely lacking. Thus the honest and industrious servant of the people is made to feel that the job is one for which he is paid and that no responsibility rests upon the people. John Kinley Tener when Governor gave close attention to what the people were thinking and it was always a pleasure for me to exchange views on public matters with him. Once I had a friendly letter from the former Governor acknowledging with appreciation a newspaper study of the characteristics of himself and other former State officials, especially in the matter of public speaking. I quote from that letter:

“While in Harrisburg, when we had opportunity for many conferences, I realized that you had perhaps a more intimate knowledge than anyone else of the strength and frailties, as well as the characteristics, of the several Governors from Curtin’s time to the present, and your estimate of them is as close to the truth as it is given anyone to know of another’s character.”

HE WAS INDEPENDENT ALWAYS

Among other letters of a personal nature is one from Ernest F. Acheson, written in 1906 from Ontario, Canada. For several years he was a member of Congress from the Washington Pennsylvania District, and was one of the most astute politicians of his day. This letter is an acknowledgment of some friendly editorial comment in the *Telegraph*, which he appreciated. He speaks thus of some impending political developments:

“It looks as though the elements of the fusion party in our district were starting in on a campaign of deliberate misrepresentation. They allege that I was always subservient to Quay, merely a cog in the State machine, and pledged to the reelection of Penrose, and they even couple my name with those of Durham and McNichol. This seems funny after all the contests I had with the gang. For this reason the paragraphs in the *Telegraph*

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were very timely. And I hope they can continue to say a good word from time to time."

As a matter of fact Mr. Acheson was always quite independent in his political activities, and I doubt very much whether he was ever counted as absolutely certain by the party leaders.

Another personal message, dated January 5, 1907, is from the late Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker. He says:

"For the many kind things you are saying about me in your newspaper you have my warm thanks. I felt ever since coming up here [Harrisburg] that I could safely rely on your support, and now that my power approaches an end you are more earnest than ever."

I insert this letter to prove that Governor Pennypacker was not without appreciation of the press when it gave him a square deal. In the early part of his administration he was compelled to bear the burden of all the Quay mistakes and of the errors of omission and commission of the Republican organization. It is my earnest opinion that he was not always given what was coming to him in the way of newspaper approval on the part of certain editors and correspondents.



CHAPTER XV

A POTTER COUNTY BOY'S RISE TO STATESMANSHIP

MANY actors appear upon the public stage between the rising and falling of the curtain on a generation of men. It is worth while to stop to read of one of these, a typical instance, a man who rose from boyhood on a farm to a position of great usefulness in the House of Representatives at Washington.

THE RISE OF A STATESMAN

Marlin Edgar Olmsted was born May 21, 1847, in the borough of Ulysses, Potter County. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania and were prominent always in the affairs of the State. For a time the young man occupied a clerical position in the Auditor General's department at Harrisburg, assiduously applying himself in his leisure hours to the study of law. He thus gained a knowledge of the tax system of Pennsylvania which made him an authority on all questions of State revenues and disbursements. His law studies were carried on under the late Judge John W. Simonton. When he opened law offices in Harrisburg after his admission to the bar in 1878, he was widely sought by great business interests, individuals and corporations because of his unusual legal ability and remarkable understanding

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of the complexities of taxation problems. A man of inflexible purpose, indomitable energy and iron will he forged ahead rapidly to the very peak of his profession, being recognized throughout the country and before all the courts as a lawyer and counsellor of remarkable ability. His fellow citizens, recognizing his talent, chose him to represent Dauphin County in the proposed Constitutional Convention in 1891.

OLMSTED'S LEADERSHIP RECOGNIZED

After establishing himself in his chosen profession, and having acquired a competency which enabled him to give more time to the public service, he was urged in 1896 to become the Republican candidate for Congress in the Harrisburg district. There was no question of his pre-eminent fitness. For sixteen years he continued in the House, where he was highly esteemed for his ability and unusual grasp of public questions. While chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs he was looked upon as the highest authority in all matters affecting our new dependencies. His speeches in Congress and his reports on the insular questions constituted an important chapter in the relationship of the United States to the Philippines and other far-flung possessions. He was forceful in debate and clear in presenting his views.

So great was his ability that he became the outstanding leader mentioned as successor to his great friend, "Uncle Joe" Cannon, in the Speaker's chair. Only the overthrow of the Republican Congress by an unexpected Democratic victory prevented his elevation to the position which is regarded by many as next in importance to the Presidency.

There was general regret when Mr. Olmsted determined to retire from Congress, and many tributes were paid publicly and privately to the work which he had accomplished during his public career. Frequently he presided over the House, and his knowledge of parliamentary law was the subject of admiring comment among those who appreciated his quick and accurate decisions. He

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never hesitated in any ruling, however involved the parliamentary situation became.

OLMSTED THE PARLIAMENTARIAN

Because of Mr. Olmsted's great ability and intense application to the principles of parliamentary procedure, he was chosen as the parliamentarian of the strenuous Republican National Convention of 1912, when the Taft and Roosevelt forces at Chicago clashed day after day in an effort to control that warring body.

Senator Elihu Root, America's leading statesman and one of the outstanding figures of the world, was the chairman of the convention. He reviewed with Olmsted at the end of each day and far into the night the situation existing between the tense battle lines. Every possible question was considered in the parliamentary program for each succeeding day and so well worked out were the expected developments that every decision of Chairman Root during the hectic proceedings was immediately followed by submission of a written precedent in judicial form which justified and emphasized the decision. It was a marvelous exhibition of parliamentary control of a body ready to vote. In view of the tenseness of those thousands of men only constant watchfulness from the platform prevented serious consequences. Olmsted's career in Washington had demonstrated the parliamentary skill of the Harrisburg lawyer, and none in the convention of 1912 had the temerity to question the rulings of the chair. He and Root made a remarkable team.

THE GREATNESS OF ELIHU ROOT

When Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, the brilliant Brooklyn preacher, was asked whether there was a master mind in the United States strong enough to guide the nation, he instantly replied:

"Yes. There is one mind that towers above the average mind as Gibraltar towers over the Mediterranean Straits. The body which holds that mind has passed beyond the allotted span of human years. But the mind itself has

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the strength, the subtlety, the comprehensiveness and the clearness which have made it conspicuous in our public life for half a century. Its owner under God is Elihu Root."

Most of his fellow-citizens will agree with the eminent clergyman that the outstanding intellect in America in this day is the wise statesman who voluntarily retired from the United States Senate a few years ago only to continue his patriotic work as a counsellor-at-large of the American people. Elihu Root towers above his countrymen like a great mountain peak. America and the world are his debtors.

A CONGRESSMAN WHO WORKED

That I might have Mr. Root's opinion of Mr. Olmsted's fine public service I asked him for an appraisal of the distinguished Harrisburg lawmaker who had passed away a few months after his retirement from Congress, highly honored and extolled as one of the great men of his day. Mr. Root's letter is a worthy tribute.

"I knew Marlin E. Olmsted very well, both socially and officially, during the greater part of his long service in Congress, and I had a very good opportunity to form a judgment of his qualities, as an observer from the point of view of executive office and of the other branch of Congress.

"I formed a very high opinion of his public spirit and his usefulness as a legislator and I came to have a warm regard for him personally. He belonged to the class of Congressmen who do the work while others are making speeches. He understood his subjects because he studied them. What he had to say he said simply and effectively, without playing to the galleries and trying to get into the spotlight. He had a great reputation among his colleagues as a parliamentarian and he deserved it, for he had an alert mind, decision of character, courage, and a kindly disposition—the qualities which enable a presiding officer to rule promptly, fairly and decisively without

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creating the kind of irritation which retards the transaction of legislative business.

“Olmsted was one of Pennsylvania’s really valuable contributions to the national Government.”

Pennsylvania has given many useful and unselfish men to the public service of the country, but none of these will stand the test of close analysis better than the Potter County farmer boy who expressed in his career all the virtues of industry, devotion to country, and the highest ideals of the American citizen.

Olmsted enjoyed the work at Washington, but, had he chosen a newspaper career, he would have been a brilliant editor. He wrote easily, his diction was perfect, and the clarity of his statements was a matter of comment. His memory was wonderful. Facts and figures and events rolled from his mental phonograph without the least apparent effort, and he seldom used notes in his public addresses. In my contact with him he was always the soul of kindness, but in political controversy I never saw him falter when challenged by an antagonist.

HE LOVED HORSES

Olmsted was a lover of horses, and before the day of the automobile could be frequently found astride a fine horse or driving along the highways near Harrisburg. Before the river front of the Capital was so marvelously improved, the road leading along the Susquehanna River northward was more or less of a public race-track. It was not unusual to see Mr. Olmsted behind a pair of fleet horses, testing their speed with other horsemen of the city. However, it was not simply the speed of the horses which interested him; he was concerned about their humane treatment. On one occasion I saw him stop a truck driver who was carelessly forcing two heavy dray horses over a slippery street, the horses scarcely able to stand owing to the fact that they had not been properly shod for icy highways. He gave the man a severe lecture and reported the incident to the owner. I have often seen him stop on the sidewalk to admire a horse stand-



MARLIN E. OLMSTED



McVeytown "Journal"



Harrisburg "Telegraph"



Oriskany "Dispatch"

THE AUTHOR'S THREE NEWSPAPER OFFICES

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ing at the curb, and his affection for man's best friend was easily apparent.

In a letter about Mr. Olmsted written to the author in 1926, "Uncle Joe" Cannon, long famous as the Speaker of the National House said:

"For many years he was an able and conscientious member of Congress with the interests of his constituents always at heart. We were friends—true friends; therefore my regard for him was great, and I was a real mourner when he met his untimely end."

Mr. Olmsted left on the adjournment of Congress in 1913 for a European trip with his close friend, the late Congressman McCall, of Massachusetts, and died July 19, 1913, in New York, soon after his return home. He had retired from Congress at the close of the short term in that year.

WHEN APPRECIATION COUNTED

A personal letter from Mr. Olmsted to the author well expresses the feeling of public men as to their service for the people:

"Some years ago, when Edward M. Paxson was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, I sat next to him at a banquet and took occasion to say that I had just read one of his recent opinions and was myself much pleased; that I had heard several other lawyers express pleasure at the force and clearness with which he had unraveled a difficult legal situation. His face beamed with pleasure, and he said to me that, while judges often heard fault found with their decisions, particularly by those upon the losing side, they seldom heard anything from the winning side or from anybody else, and that it was a great pleasure once in a while to hear that an opinion met with the approval of the bar. It is just so with a Congressman or anybody else. We like to hear from a friendly and disinterested source that there is some appreciation of our efforts to do what is right and best for our constituents and country."

His was a marvelous memory, trained and dependable.

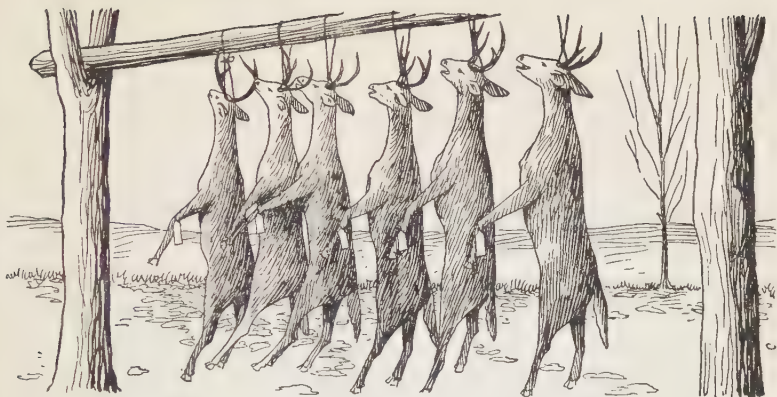
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I remember a fine address which he delivered on the occasion of the Dauphin County Bar's tribute to his preceptor and friend, President Judge John W. Simonton. Important dates and illuminating incidents rolled from his tongue as he proceeded in a scholarly analysis and appreciation of the great jurist and without a moment's hesitation. I sat in wonderment as he marshalled fact after fact in a remarkable review of Judge Simonton's outstanding service in the judiciary.

In his speeches, his legal papers and his comment on men and things, Olmsted made frequent quotations from the Bible. He once remarked that nowhere else could be found so much of wisdom applicable to our everyday life and conduct. It was often his habit to illustrate a point in a legal argument by an appropriate quotation from some little-known chapter of the greatest of all books.

His inherent kindness was illustrated in a note which he sent me after a call on President McKinley to recommend my appointment as postmaster of Harrisburg. He passed on to me this remark of the President: "I shall appoint him on Washington's Birthday so that his family will always remember the occasion."

Just when his career was ended by death he was preparing after long and distinguished service at Washington to return to his home community and participate more intimately in its activities. No public appeal looking to the betterment of Harrisburg was ever ignored by Olmsted.



CHAPTER XVI

A MODERN NEWSPAPER CINCINNATUS

THIS is a study in practical politics and present-day idealism. He of whom I write in this chapter is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, almost the lone survivor of a strenuous political epoch, and now an earnest student of the currents of our national life.

“VAN” COMES FROM THE COUNTRY

Of all the admirers of Theodore Roosevelt in Pennsylvania none has been more vigorous in his advocacy of the ideals of the “Happy Warrior” than E. A. Van Valkenburg, who retired as the managing genius of the old Philadelphia *North American* not long before it was engulfed in the *Public Ledger*. Back in the Hastings administration Mr. Van Valkenburg came to Harrisburg from the Northern Tier region of Pennsylvania as head of a virile group of young and strenuous Republicans who were soon to take an active and influential part in political affairs. He was his brother-in-law’s partner in the publication of the *Wellsboro Advocate*, a paper which, at the time, was passing through a period of financial stringency that threatened its extinction. The paper had always been ardent in the support of Quay.

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So the great-hearted boss promised to see that the young publisher, when he came to Harrisburg, was given an important assignment. The thought was that his salary would help tide over the newspaper's difficulties. Thus it is apparent that the absence from Wellsboro was planned as temporary only. But, unconsciously, "Van" was entering on a career that was to keep him in the limelight for thirty years.

In fulfilment of Quay's pledge, "Van" was appointed to the important House Appropriations Committee. Almost immediately he attracted the attention of those Republican leaders who already felt the sweep of an undercurrent of revolt beneath their feet. "Van" was strenuously opposed to what was regarded as the old order, and he never hesitated to hit a head when it pushed itself above the crowd in factional demonstrations.

PROBLEMS AND SITUATIONS

But there was more than party discord. From the beginning the young legislator was confronted by sensational proposals with explosive features. In the organization of the Senate and House for the session the usual disappointments were registered; there were not enough holes in sight for the oversupply of pegs. More patriots wanted to serve the State than could be accommodated. William T. Marshall, of Pittsburgh, Speaker of the House, was an affable presiding officer and knew the ropes. He was an important figure in subsequent events.

Meanwhile the Cameron dynasty was tottering to its fall, while Quay was rising higher and still higher as a great leader, and Boies Penrose was earning his spurs as the crown prince of a remarkable political regime. It was now that events cast their shadows before. As Governor Hastings strode upon the Pennsylvania stage it was at once divined that a spectacular drama was about to unfold. His personal popularity has always been accepted as the inspiration of the movement so soon to be launched against the Cameron-Quay domination. But the fire smouldered during the 1895 session and the

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early months of the Hastings administration. It was to burst into flame later, having gathered fury by long suppression of and the addition of much explosive fuel.

A MONKEY-WRENCH IN THE GEARS

Thirty days after the Legislature adjourned—the constitutional period allowed for action on bills passed ten days before the gavel finally falls—nothing serious had happened to cause general disruption of party peace, but Van Valkenburg had thrown a monkey-wrench into the gears. His position as secretary of the committee which had the disposal of millions in appropriations gave him inside knowledge of the varying political phases of the new State administration and the Legislature. So presently he was sending to his Wellsboro *Advocate* vigorous interpretations of the doings on Capitol Hill. These faithfully reflected all that transpired. One interesting and sensational narrative told of clerks in the office of the Governor who were engaged in making excerpts of letters from many sections of the State, protesting against gubernatorial approval of the much-discussed pipe-line bill promoted by important oil interests. It was widely suspected that these protestants were to be disciplined, and the story aroused tremendous interest. Administration leaders demanded the official head of Van Valkenburg. Under penalty of dismissal, he was urged to retract his statements as to the pipe-line disclosures, but not even to please the Governor would he back-track. Then General Frank Reeder, Secretary of the Commonwealth, sent for the firebrand from the Northern Tier and exerted all manner of pressure to induce him to disavow the sensational story, picturing in dramatic fashion the impending tragedy of dismissal and consequent public disgrace. But “Van” didn’t give an inch; he absolutely refused to heed the warnings. He threatened, moreover, to get a Philadelphia newspaper to print all the truth as he had revealed it, and he threw into the teeth of General Reeder his intimations of a public spanking. It was now a boiling situation; as the

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newspaper corps of that day will recall, it was believed to presage a lot of trouble for the administration.

"VAN" AND QUAY

Then came to Van Valkenburg a message from Washington. Senator Quay wanted to see the young Wellsboro publisher for whom, months before, he had pledged assistance to secure a position at Harrisburg. "Van" hurried to the National Capital and met Senator Quay in his home. Quay promptly asked what the big ruckus was all about and was given the interesting details. Quite perturbed, he explained to his visitor that Hastings was seeking a quarrel in an effort to wrest from him party control, and added that he was even accused of having been responsible for the revelations in the *Advocate* correspondence reflecting on the State administration. Then Quay concluded by asking Van Valkenburg to retract, but was told that the statements were true and that what had been printed must stand.

Instead of retracting the story that had made him the center of a red-hot controversy, "Van" sent to his paper a full recital of the threatened reprisals and his promised dismissal. Many copies of the *Advocate* containing this broadside conspicuously marked, were mailed to the Governor and all concerned. Further, the secretary-editor declared that he would issue a public statement as to what had occurred. Threats, cajolery and all manner of pressure were then invoked to compel a satisfactory retraction, but Speaker Marshall was "Van's" good friend and bluntly he told the head-hunters that dismissing Van Valkenburg would surely prolong the session at least thirty days, owing to the secretary's complete record and system of handling the appropriation bills. He also kept the young publisher advised regarding the trouble brewing in State administration circles. "Hell has broken loose!" he declared. Then he suggested in a friendly way to "Van" that he sit tight. For several days the lid threatened to blow off, but finally the Speaker reported to Tioga's embattled

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chronicler of inside facts that, after a further conference on the enormity of his offense, held at the seat of war, the Governor had indicated a change of mind and that bygones were to be bygones. "Van" was to continue unhampered and unafraid in his addition and subtraction of the biennial monetary grants.

It was a sensational about face on the part of the administration. Few have known the inside facts.

CONTENDING FOR THE CROWN

But scarcely had the Governor ceased his after-session labors on bills left by the Legislature when Quay again sent for Van Valkenburg and explained that the forces of evil, as he conceived the administration at Harrisburg to be, were now arrayed against him, and that while he had hoped the fight might be averted, it was no longer possible to ward off the attack. He explained his plan of campaign, the most unrelenting in the annals of the State, and then discussed with the combative young publisher the disclosures in his letters to the *Advocate*. These letters later furnished an ammunition dump for Quay headquarters of no mean proportions. While disclosing in a measure his campaign plans, the master-boss was apparently loath to accept the Hastings gage of battle, especially as the Governor had now aligned with him such experienced party strategists as Senator C. L. Magee of Pittsburgh, David Martin of Philadelphia, and Senator William Flinn of Pittsburgh. These were dangerous antagonists. To those who look backward on the "Hog-Combine," as it became known, there was ample reason for Quay's hesitancy. At last, realizing that he had no choice in the circumstances, and also appreciating the tactical advantage of striking first, he issued his famous statement deploring the use of money in politics and placing the dollar mark upon the brow of David Martin, the recognized representative of large corporate interests then suspected of aiming to grasp State-wide power. This caused a tremendous sensation, and recalled the Thomas Nast cartoon that covered

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Boss Tweed of Tammany Hall with dollar marks to emphasize his politico-corporate activities.

During the summer three Tioga County delegates had been elected, including Jerome B. Niles, before the big scrap had taken form through announcement by B. F. Gilkeson, of Bucks, of his candidacy for chairman of the State Committee with the backing of Governor Hastings and his allies. At once factional lines were sharply drawn and Van Valkenburg lost no time in capturing his home delegation for Quay. This was done by circulating petitions among the Republican voters instructing the Tioga delegates already elected to favor Senator Quay in the choice of chairman. More than ninety per cent voted for Quay, whose leadership was now the real issue. This same strategy, observed all over the State, had much to do with the final triumph of the battle-scarred leader in his bitter defensive campaign against big odds.

IN THE JUNGLE OF POLITICS

Quay was now in the saddle and fighting with all the resourcefulness of his long experience in political warfare. There were many thrilling incidents. On both fronts the reserves were called to the colors. Skirmishes were constantly taking place and frequent communiques were issued from rival headquarters, claiming victories on different sectors in the election of delegates. Quay had with him "Bull" Andrews, Boies Penrose, Frank Willing Leach and a considerable following of astute county leaders, but it was "the old man" himself who issued the orders. Meanwhile, in the midst of the fray, Van Valkenburg, true to Quay, was scouting in all directions and firing hot shot through his newspaper.

But the bitter struggle was nearing its end. The closing incidents are related in the chapter in this volume on Quay's victory and the sensational features of the 1895 "Hog-Combine" convention—the Waterloo of several contenders for the Republican crown.

Leaping from the rugged hills of Tioga into the maelstrom of political intrigue at Harrisburg was an experi-

ence for Van Valkenburg that he can never forget. He had dreamed of nothing so much as the saving of his paper from financial disaster, and he had ordered his living program at the Capital on such economical lines as would leave eighty per cent of his salary available for pressing needs and liquidation of debt. After his first thrilling encounter in the jungle of politics he had hoped for peace and the comfortable routine of a country editor, but the fates had ruled otherwise. Persistent cries of "peace! peace!" were heard as Governor Hastings requested the privilege of presenting Quay's name for President at the ensuing National Convention, but there was no peace, not even after this remarkable harmony gesture, the unexpected sequel of a rampageous campaign. Some of the leading participants in that memorable contest for power never again figured to any extent in the political game. It served to cinch the supremacy of Quay.

ONE MORE SENSATION

It should be kept in mind that, while this attack upon Quay was entirely unrelated to subsequent efforts to overwhelm the Republican stronghold, there were undercurrents that clearly indicated growing revolt. Mutterings were heard here and there, but it was not until December, 1895, that surface signs pointed to the gathering storm—now against United States Senator James Donald Cameron, who had thrown a bomb into the Republican camp in the shape of a deliverance in favor of free silver. This wholly unexpected development produced a sensation second only to the fight to force Quay into the party background. Once more Van Valkenburg was summoned secretly to Philadelphia, this time by former State Senator Chris Kauffman, who had arranged with John Wanamaker to meet the Wellsboro editor and discuss an anti-Cameron movement. Always the *Advocate* had supported the Camerons, but the free-silver heresy was too much for the Northern Tier farmers and business men. Wanamaker greeted the two visitors cordially and at once asked Van Valkenburg, whom he had not previously

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known: "Do you think Cameron can be defeated?" Instantly came the reply in the affirmative.

TO KEEP CAMERON AT HOME

After some further conversation "Van" outlined a plan of campaign and expressed the opinion that the development of anti-Cameron sentiment throughout the State would be comparatively easy of accomplishment. Later he was invited to a conference with Wanamaker, Thomas Dolan, David Martin, and a few others to consider the situation. As he had not known Martin, but had whanged him in his newspaper correspondence earlier in the year, lampooning him unmercifully for feathering his own nest at the expense of the common people, there was some question regarding Martin's possible attitude when they should meet. Wanamaker was assured by Van Valkenburg that there was common ground on which he could meet Martin and other foes of the old "Hog-Combine" alignment.

As a result of these conferences and the urgent request of Wanamaker, the Tioga County man agreed to undertake the management of the anti-Cameron fight, but on his own terms. These, succinctly stated, provided for expenses only and no salary.

It was felt that the only salvation for Cameron in the circumstances, especially in view of the storm of protest over his free silver declaration, lay in suppressing all opposition as quietly as possible. "Van" thought a canvass of the Republican newspaper publishers and others would about end any prospect of Senator Cameron succeeding himself.

Opposition blossomed rapidly, and, at the instigation of the chosen leader in the contest, Thomas B. Cochran, chief clerk of the State Senate and publisher of the Lancaster *Examiner*, fired the first gun. This was significant, for Donegal, the country home of General Cameron, is situated in the garden spot of Pennsylvania—Lancaster County. Many Republican newspapers soon joined in the offensive, especially when they learned that Wanamaker

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and Dolan, friendly to Quay, were back of the movement. At no time was it an anti-Quay demonstration, but solely an effort to keep Senator Cameron at home.

QUAY MOVES QUICKLY

Within a week Quay summoned Van Valkenburg to his home in Washington. He had seen evidences of the anti-Cameron revolt and wanted the facts. He was assured frankly that Wanamaker and his associates were not hostile to his leadership; that they were friends who wanted to relieve him of an increasing political embarrassment which now appeared more menacing as Republicans understood the unorthodox position of Senator Cameron.

Quay listened intently and was evidently impressed. He asked Van Valkenburg to keep in touch with him and report developments from time to time. As he was leaving the Quay residence "Van" was asked to make no further move for one week. A week was not necessary for the fast moving Senator; within forty-eight hours Quay had changed the political map, Senator Cameron issuing a statement that he had concluded to retire from the Senate and would not be a candidate for re-election to that body.

Long after the events just recorded, Van Valkenburg told the writer of this volume that he started the campaign with a fund of \$400, expended \$180, and returned \$220. Thus less than two hundred dollars were required to accomplish the dethronement of a once powerful dynasty. Even now it has some elements of a bargain counter campaign.

JOHN WANAMAKER FORGES AHEAD

With Senator Cameron out of the running, the Wanamaker group began casting about for his successor, meanwhile maintaining a friendly attitude toward Quay, now the supreme head of the Republican organization. At this time Wanamaker was not considered for the vacancy, but he, Dolan, Martin and others gave much thought to

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the importance of sending to Washington a high-type business man, one who should be potent in representing the great industrial and commercial interests of Pennsylvania. It was finally agreed that there should be submitted to the party voters a list of several prominent men regarded as available. These included John Wanamaker, Thomas Dolan, Charles Emory Smith, Calvin Wells, Colonel E. A. Irwin, and other well-known men whose names were familiar to most Pennsylvanians.

By this time it became apparent that, under no circumstances, would Dolan stand as a candidate for Cameron's seat. Equally apparent was the fact that Wanamaker was forging ahead as the logical standard-bearer. Quay confided to Van Valkenburg as the active manager of the campaign that there should be a considerable nucleus of members of the Legislature favorable to the choice of the group in order to justify his coming out in the open for the anointed one. At this stage there was no anti-Quay sentiment expressed or implied.

There had been formed for the McKinley campaign an organization known as the Business Men's League, and this was now revived in the interest of a business man for President. No particular member of the group of eligibles was singled out to lead the Senate fight, the real plan contemplating a canvass of Republicans in every county and election of members of the Legislature favorable to the program already outlined.

FIRST OF ALL FOR QUAY

Once more Quay summoned his Tioga County lieutenant. He had learned something of the plans of the Wanamaker group, and he wanted to know exactly what was in the wind. He manifested no opposition, but was greatly interested in "Van's" frank review of what had already been set afoot. He expressed the opinion that Wanamaker was the most formidable of all those suggested for the Senatorship. Up to this stage of the campaign and still later the manager of this business men's group kept Quay fully informed as to what was

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going on. As a matter of fact, both Wanamaker and Dolan approved this liaison arrangement as being tactically a wise move, inasmuch as all concerned desired to cooperate with the recognized head of the Republican regulars. It was, indeed, a frequent remark of Wanamaker and his associates that Van Valkenburg was first of all a Quay man, and nothing should affect the amicable relationship.

Meanwhile Dolan and Martin had succeeded in bringing into line Senators Magee and Flinn, thus assuring Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania support for the campaign. Senator Quay's suggestions were followed in the canvass for members of the Legislature and the movement was proceeding swimmingly.

No more formidable political alignment could have been organized. For Quay it was a desperate situation.

BEARDING QUAY IN HIS DEN

Came a day, however, when Quay requested of the campaign director a list of the legislators upon whom the Wanamaker forces were counting. This was not forthcoming, and on a certain memorable occasion Quay bluntly revealed his hand. He had invited Van Valkenburg to Washington and, in the midst of a discussion of the situation he suddenly asked for the Wanamaker list of favorable lawmakers. Suspicious now of what was impending, "Van" abruptly declined to produce the list, and was even more disturbed when the old party leader said something in a diplomatic way about taking care of his Tioga County lieutenant.

Thereupon ensued a stormy scene, bitter recrimination, violent denunciation of a treacherous proposal and the snapping of a long-established friendship. When "Van" left Quay, he left a surprised and doubtful leader. Never thereafter were the men to resume their close political and personal relationship.

To this day those close to the Wanamaker fight of that day believe that W. H. "Bull" Andrews was responsible more than any other for Quay's decision to support Boies

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Penrose for Cameron's seat in the Senate, instead of Wanamaker.

It is pointed out that Andrews continued to ring the changes on the fact that back of Wanamaker were the leaders of the Hastings combination which had for its main objective the elimination of Quay as a leader and that, notwithstanding their professions of fealty, these men would betray him at the first opportunity. This was a plausible argument, and, feeling not too sure of his footing, Quay was persuaded to yield. Of course, the regulars preferred Penrose, who was one of them, but influential politicians predicted another party rift in the wake of this turn-down by Quay of strong men professing allegiance to his cause.

Quay had a wholesome respect for Van Valkenburg, who had once been in the Quay ranks and was not without a working knowledge of the Quay tactics. When Wanamaker decided to challenge the organization to a fair and open fight for the United States Senate, he lost no time in securing the services of the Tioga County young man as a campaign manager. It was a joyful prospect for "Van." He delighted in the smell of political powder, and a clash with the great Republican chieftain was much to his liking. Nothing could have appealed more strongly to his fighting instincts.

NO QUARTER

Thenceforward the combat became personal and ruthless. No quarter was asked or given by either side. In the midst of the scrimmage, Van Valkenburg was arrested on a trumped-up charge in order to get him out of Harrisburg. He was hurried to Schuylkill County to answer to the framed indictment, but, pending a hearing on the sensational charges, the late Senator James S. Fruit and E. W. Smiley, of Venango, gave the much-harassed Tioga County publisher warning of the scheme of his enemies, who were actually after the list of Wanamaker legislators which Van Valkenburg had several times refused to give Quay. On his arrest the so-called

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detectives "frisked" him in the hope of capturing the coveted list, but without success, the paper having been hastily placed in the custody of a trusted lieutenant when "Van" learned he was to be arrested.

A few days later the accuser of the hectored young publisher and guide of the Wanamaker men was a principal witness in a divorce proceeding in New York City. As this case proceeded the trial judge was convinced that the scoundrel had given perjured testimony and had him arrested on sight. Realizing his peril, the crook fell in a faint, but was subsequently found guilty and imprisoned in Sing Sing. He slumped to the floor as sentence was pronounced. This same perjurer had been hired to accuse Van Valkenburg at a critical stage of the campaign and, when the facts became known, the case against the Wanamaker manager was quickly *nolle prossed*, those back of the attempt to discredit the anti-Quay leader moving rapidly to avoid exposure. Instead of being weakened, the Wanamaker line was thereby strengthened.

THE UNYIELDING SEVENTY-SIX

While Penrose was elected, the Wanamaker total vote available is said to have been about ninety instead of the officially recorded seventy-six, quite a few being released from their pledges to support the merchant-prince when it was found he could not rally the necessary majority of the 128 votes on joint ballot. The "Seventy-Six" were as unyielding as the famous "306" who supported Grant for a third term for the Presidency. The actual Wanamaker strength was about 98 in the caucus total of approximately 200 in Senate and House. It has always been regarded as good politics to avoid involving faithful followers in unnecessary controversy.

Still later Wanamaker was urged to become a candidate for Governor, and he had considerable support among the delegates. But before the convention assembled he withdrew in favor of Charles W. Stone, of Warren, who was Lieutenant Governor in the Beaver administration. His delegates were almost enough to cinch the

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nomination, but certain defections at the last moment gave William A. Stone, another Tioga County native, the majority and the colors.

DEADLOCKED

This gubernatorial drama was a sort of curtain-raiser for the famous Quay deadlock in the Legislature of 1899, referred to elsewhere in this volume. Week after week and month after month the balloting proceeded, but the anti-Quay forces remained intact. Whereas the former conflict was simply pro-Wanamaker, it was now definitely a fight to the death against Quay. He must procure a constitutional majority of both branches. Rumors of treachery were heard hourly, and the excitement was intense. Newspaper men were present from every quarter. The writer was sending thousands of words each day to the morning and evening editions of the *New York Sun* and other newspapers. The fight was national and upon its outcome depended certain important moves on a country-wide stage. One day the Quay men were ready to switch to Senator Chris Magee; the next day Quay was considering withdrawal from the race. One rumor came on the heels of another. And thus the session passed to its final adjournment without a choice for United States Senator.

Promptly Governor Stone appointed Senator Quay to succeed himself, but the Senate at Washington had the next move, and, much to the surprise of the country it decided that, the Legislature of Pennsylvania having failed in regular session to fill the vacancy, the Governor had no constitutional right to make the appointment. Senators Mark Hanna and Vest, of Missouri, indicated thumbs down on this issue. Vest and Quay were regarded as bosom friends and why the Missouri man deserted the Pennsylvanian has never been explained clearly.

During the next two years Quay was busy building his political fences for his return to the Senate and Van Valkenburg, his erstwhile lieutenant, was finding vent for his never-flagging energies in peace and war as the

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controlling director of the old Philadelphia *North American* of valiant and crusading memory.

"VAN" AND THE NORTH AMERICAN

The story of how "Van" came to be connected with this paper is significant. For one thing, it shows how Quay had the penetration of a seer. His mind had the clairvoyant quality which gave his political adversaries many uncomfortable hours. When "Van" proposed to Wanamaker to take over the ancient and honorable Philadelphia *North American* as a medium of the Wanamaker group for use in the fight for anti-Quay members of the Legislature, since there was no paper in Philadelphia opposed to the regular Republican organization, the chief owner, McMichael, refused to sell, on the ground that, when Quay made him City Treasurer of Philadelphia, the boss had exacted a pledge that he would not sell the paper during his term as treasurer. This term did not expire until 1899. Van Valkenburg had offered McMichael \$225,000 for the *North American*, through a newspaper man named Townsend. The purpose was to make use of it in the campaign of 1899 for anti-Quay legislators. For the reason stated McMichael declined the offer. This was one of Quay's most astute moves. He knew that the paper was too weak to survive long and that his political enemies would buy it sooner or later.

After the campaign was over and the need had passed, however, Wanamaker insisted on purchasing the newspaper, against his chief lieutenant's wish and advice. "I remember the day—it was zero weather," said Van Valkenburg, "when J. W. blithely told me he had purchased the *North American* for \$175,000 and that, when the Legislature adjourned, I was expected to take charge of its publication. I was worn out at the time, having been in charge of the battle to keep Quay out since before the Christmas holidays. J. W. failed to obtain any assurance from me that I would attempt the task. Thomas B. Wanamaker, however, exacted a promise from me to

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see him immediately after the adjournment of the Legislature and before I went back to Tioga County. At that time I refused to commit myself beyond promising to return to Philadelphia and give him a final answer after I had had an opportunity to get some sleep and rest. A week later I returned and offered to take up the work on three conditions: I was to designate my own title, fix my own salary, and launch the *North American* upon a set of specific principles which he, his father and Judge James Gay Gordon would approve and underwrite. He accepted my proposition and I selected the title of circulation manager, made my salary fifty dollars a week, and submitted an outline of the paper's platform.

"I shall never forget the withering look that T. B. gave me when I announced my title and salary. We had our first rough-and-tumble argument over the matter, he contending that such a get-away would forever prevent me from acquiring the proper status as editor and publisher.

"It was not long, however, before I began to sail under my true colors. Meantime I had acquired valuable experience and information."

I was not always in sympathy with the Van Valkenburg policies as these found expression in the columns of the *North American*, but he is a poor newspaperman who allows partisan or factional feeling to affect an established friendship. In recent years the calling of names and the breaking of old ties on account of some fellow's ambition to boss a party or hold an office has almost ceased to be a campaign irritation.

WHY "VAN" QUIT THE EDITOR'S CHAIR

When, in 1926, the *North American* staggered for a few weeks and then disappeared forever through a merger with the *Public Ledger*, I wrote "Van" such a letter as one friend writes to another. Here is his response:

"That letter of yours went straight to my heart. It is the good opinion of old friends that I value most. To have merited your esteem and friendship and held them



JOHN WANAMAKER



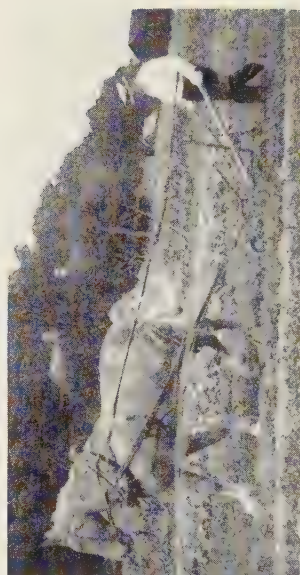
E. A. VAN VALKENBURG AND THE AUTHOR AT
"VANACRES".



"VAN" ON THE JOB



HOSPITABLE "VANACRES"



"VAN" PLOUGHS DEEP

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for nearly thirty years, during which time our lines often diverged, gives me a feeling of pride.

"I remember well how your Northern Tier letter¹ got under our skin during one of our bitter political battles up in Tioga County. I recall also that the job was put up to me to prepare an answer, which would neutralize the damage you were doing our side. By some trick of memory I could not for the life of me recall your name at the time I sat down to draft the reply. So, with a proper explanation of the fact, I alluded to the author of the Northern Tier letter as 'Mr. Polecat.' For me that was a fortunate selection of a name. It was the means of bringing us together. As soon as I arrived in Harrisburg it opened the way for a warm friendship which has never diminished.

"To receive your warm commendation of my twenty-five years of editorial work since then pleases me more than I can tell you. I have watched with genuine satisfaction your own remarkable rise from special correspondent to editor and proprietor of a strong and prosperous daily newspaper.

"You and I understood each other from the start because our philosophy of life and duty rested upon very much the same fundamentals. It was your good fortune and mine to be taught that the elemental virtues are essential to the contentment of man and the welfare of nations.

"It has been a source of encouragement and pleasure to me to watch the *Telegraph* under your editorial direction take a firm stand for good causes.

"My decision to quit was not made hastily. If by remaining I could have perpetuated the *North American* and the policies for which it stood under my editorship, I would have been willing, if necessary, to drop in the

¹ The reference is to a series of letters from Harrisburg to the *Elmira Advertiser* that covered in particular the political backing and filling in Tioga, Bradford, Potter, McKean and contiguous Northern Tier Counties. These letters attracted much attention, not only in Pennsylvania, but in New York. They were written at the suggestion of Van Valkenburg later for the *Wellsboro Advocate*.

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trenches. But I could see nothing beyond me which promised any hope of permanently preserving the *North American's* editorial policies. I faced the necessity of a long vacation, and there was no one to take my place meantime.

"VAN" TELLS OF HIS RETIREMENT

"I am only tired out and not at all broken in health. A year or two in the open will make me as good as new. I shall build a house on my recently acquired two-hundred acre farm, two and one-half miles from Wellsboro on the Roosevelt Highway. I shall use the farm as a sort of laboratory through which to study agricultural economics, which I regard as a matter of supreme importance. Those who think I shall not find in this new field an outlet for my mental and physical energies do not realize the unlimited opportunities which lie in this new field.

"I shall not 'dig myself in' up there and withdraw from contact with the outside world, but shall probably see my friends oftener than before.

"I want you to know how greatly I value your friendship and how genuinely I wish that the fates and fairies may never bring to you anything less than prosperity and happiness."

Beneath all "Van's" appearance of fierceness in many a conflict I knew there was always beating a heart full of kindness and real love for his fellowman. I shall never forget a visit with him some years ago to the Atlantic City institution established through *North American* auspices for the care and treatment of crippled children. There was where the real Van Valkenburg was made manifest. He loved these maimed little ones and bestowed upon them the care of a father.

Later, in December, 1924, my old newspaper comrade wrote me more fully as to his Tioga County plans:

"VAN'S" TREATISE ON AGRICULTURE

"I shall approach the subject of agriculture in the firm conviction that it is not only the most important

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of all industries, but that it should and must be regarded as among the most honorable," he wrote.

"It has fed the human race for ages and will always continue to do so. It brings practically all the new wealth into the world. Other kinds of industry only change the form of materials into things more adequate and useful to man. The farmer plants the seeds and, through the blessing of God's sunshine and rain, it multiplies twenty-fold. Politically the farmer is absolutely necessary, if democratic civilization is to last. The farmer settled this country. A handful of brave New England farmers first had the courage to attack the British Regulars and during the seven dark years which followed, carried on a completely successful war for independence.

"Every reform which has come to the people through politics has been inspired by the farmer and not by urbanites. It was the farmers behind Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and Roosevelt who brought about the great political reforms which have made our America a better land.

"The spiritual welfare of the nation is more dependent upon the farmer than upon any other class. The farmer lives constantly in the presence of the Unknown, his crops always being at the mercy of an unseen power. This makes the farmer as a class the most religious of all our population. Christian civilization and American democracy are an expression—one the religious and the other the political—of the Sermon on the Mount. The taproots of the Church reach back to the farms of the nation. The Church as an institution would soon pass, if the farmers were to disappear.

"This is only a suggestion of the vast background which I see behind the plan I have in mind for future development.

"Sometime I want you to give me a couple of hours in which to unfold my views. Before we get through I firmly believe we will find some important part for the

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Telegraph and its publisher to perform in the propaganda to spread the gospel of farming.”

“VAN” AT “VANACRES”

But none can persuade me that E. A. Van Valkenburg can ever wholly dissociate himself from the newspaper-political activities which for so many years have been the warp and woof of his busy life. Whatever he does will be well done, and it is entirely conceivable that the appeal of the Tioga County farm on the fine highway which bears the name of the great national leader who was “Van’s” friend—and who, more than any other, aroused the American people to their duty in a world crisis when his countrymen were being told from Washington that they must be neutral in thought and deed—will prove so irresistible that the agricultural laboratory will be a sufficient vent for his tireless energy.

“Vanacres” is a wonderful farm of almost three hundred acres on the outskirts of Wellsboro—a dream that has come true. Here may be found, amid the scenes of his boyhood and youth, our newspaper Cincinnatus, buried deep in the problems of agriculture, horticulture, stockraising and kindred subjects. Outstanding as a feature of this fertile upland and meadow is a high plateau, environed by wide areas of meadow and sloping fields, the whole rimmed by indented ridges stretching far away in every direction. Here Van Valkenburg has built for himself a picturesque white house which overlooks on every side a broad vista of prosperous farms and wooded hills and contains within a wonderful collection of art and books and antiques.

If the legendary Cincinnatus found rest and peace on his farm along the Tiber, so it may readily be imagined the boy of the historic Northern Tier, now back on the farm, is gratefully renewing his youth and giving serious thought to the problems and welfare of the people whom he has served in the rural spaces and the crowded cities of his beloved Pennsylvania.

At Vanacres the friends of this former editor and

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publisher gather in congenial groups from time to time and the head farmer dispenses the most generous hospitality. Also, the young and old farmers of his section drop in frequently for helpful conferences on questions of vital concern. These find in him a counselor and guide who is deeply interested in their industry.

THE STORY OF A TROPHY

Standing in a commanding position, on a bluff, an American flag floating overhead, is a light field gun that covers an intersection of the Roosevelt Highway a few hundred yards distant. This gun with a history was presented to the owner of Vanacres by an old newspaper associate. "Van" prizes it highly. When the Allies were worried by the German tanks, and could not find a way to stop them, our government commissioned its ordnance department to develop a super-high-powered piece of light field artillery in an effort to quell the tank. With little delay a 60-caliber one-pound semi-automatic rifled gun was produced. This was designed to deliver a terrific fire of high explosive armor-piercing shells at a greater range than the German tank guns. Its muzzle velocity is 3,600 feet per second. This remarkable gun is said to have had a marvelous effect in squelching the German tanks in the closing days of the war. Two of these efficient offensive weapons were built at a cost of \$25,000, and the Vanacres trophy is one of them.

But even this rapid-fire light-artillery weapon is scarcely more capable of creating an explosion than was our Tioga County Cincinnatus in the vociferous period of notable political upheavals with which he had to do—first along the North Tier on the *Advocate*; then at Harrisburg, and later in the uproaring campaigns of the *North American*.

Now that Quay and Wanamaker and Penrose have passed on, it may be told that Van Valkenburg could easily have sat among the seats of the mighty in the "regular" organization, but he preferred to go down, if necessary, with the flag of revolt proudly flying. He is

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essentially the Roosevelt type and the political arena has always drawn him as a magnet.

It is an interesting fact that Tioga County has contributed an unusual line of able men to the public service, among them United States Senator John I. Mitchell, Governor William A. Stone, Justice Henry Williams of the Supreme Court, United States Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, State Treasurer Robert K. Young, Auditor General Jerome B. Niles, Major George A. Merrick, Senator Walter T. Merrick, Peter G. Cameron, State Secretary of Banking, and others of like caliber.



CHAPTER XVII

NEWSPAPERS AND THEIR IMPORTANT OBLIGATIONS

NO other life career, save the profession of medicine, perhaps, more intimately touches the life of any community than the active newspaper profession. It gathers and distributes the actual results of all agencies for the common weal. It diffuses the general knowledge essential to a better understanding of all the elements of our human kind. It continues more and more to minister unselfishly to the development of an intelligent American citizenry—to the realization by the individual of what is meant by government of the people, by the people, for the people. It helps in the assimilation of national groups, and so inspires these to an earnest demonstration of the ideals of the republic that they will strive to honor the flag which they have fought for as an emblem of their adopted country. In this effort the newspapers and writers generally are in a position to accomplish much in raising aloft the light that must point the way to a higher and better civilization.

At a convention of Pennsylvania publishers in Harrisburg in 1924 I was asked to discuss the topic of newspaper leadership. Perhaps, one or two quotations from that address will indicate my definite thought of the

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place of the newspaper in service for the people. Referring to the insidious propaganda directed against American institutions I dwelt upon the importance of newspaper support of all governmental agencies and said:

"In this patriotic counter-offensive the newspapers of Pennsylvania and their contemporaries the country over must move up to the firing line and support in the most courageous and intelligent way the forces of law and order."

I emphasized the fact that the real function of the modern newspaper is service, "not maudlin, superficial, hypocritical effort, but the kind of service that is helpful and far-flung, reaching to all elements of society, refreshing, strengthening, uplifting."

Further, editors, posing as super-interpreters of public thought and maintaining a certain solitary aloofness with the hope of being acclaimed leaders of the people, are to the extent of their diminishing influence losing the opportunity of a century to create a sustaining body of sane public opinion.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SERVICE

The responsibility of service to the people so far as a newspaper is concerned does not rest alone upon the great metropolitan dailies. These have their inescapable duty, of course, but in all earnestness I suggest that more and more the trend toward millionaire control of conspicuous newspapers, which once carried the message of great editors, is being checked and the burden of holding aloft the blazing torch of American ideals and institutions must fall increasingly upon the larger group of smaller dailies and weeklies. These are now closer to the common people, understand their language, give fair expression to their thought and visualize their hopes and aspirations.

Some of us who have watched the transformation of the American press will have noted a significant change from the personal newspaper of the Horace Greeley type to

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the purely corporation and commercial form of publication. "When the nation was young a few newspapers struggled even as the Colonies struggled for a bare existence," I observed; "Alexander Hamilton, William Cullen Bryant, Benjamin Franklin and a few others of their day laid the foundations upon which later Greeley, Dana, Watterson, Halstead, Bolles, Taylor and their contemporaries, built the solid structure of our nation's journalism."

NEWSPAPERS AS NEIGHBORHOOD MAKERS

Newspapers of this century, through marvelous news-gathering sources, are making neighbors of unnumbered millions of people who have not heretofore known each other. In the "good old days" weeks passed before news of an earthquake in Japan or some other cataclysm beyond the seas reached the United States. While we complain of the slowness of the returns of some elections, it will not be forgotten that relays of horses were necessary to hurry along the official vote for President in the days long gone.

In the former days people cultivated patience with their other crops, but unless we learn this afternoon who won today's bull fight in Spain, we threaten to stop the paper. So the whole earth is out of balance and topsyturvy according to our way of thinking, and all because we know every evening what our red and black and yellow brothers the world around have done since they had their breakfast.

It must always be remembered that American problems are not so complex as we imagine, but so long as the press of the country continues to play up certain men and things when these should be played down we shall certainly have no rest from the maudlin hysteria that affects us.

Colonel Alexander K. McClure once declared the newspaper to be the chief educator of the people, and, when it is remembered that the people are the solvent power

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of our free government, their source of education becomes of vital importance.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEED

Real leadership is the greatest need of the world today and in no sphere may this be more quickly and intelligently met than through an enlightened and courageous press. It is inconceivable that the great American people will persist in following false prophets and continue to listen to the lamentations of the soothsayers which are as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

The newspaper of today has no more resemblance to the sheet of an earlier period than has the United States map of today resemblance to the Colonial area. Men in public life no longer regard the party paper as a personal asset; they have come to recognize the changed and changing political conditions and appreciate in consequence the greater usefulness of the newspaper of their party faith.

Though without college training myself for such responsibilities as these, I have never ceased to impress upon college graduates contemplating the newspaper life the added responsibility which is theirs by reason of their larger opportunity. Many of the most successful newspaper men I have known, I remarked at a Pittsburgh University conference, were denied the benefit of college or university, but that does not change the fact that they would have been more successful with such training. Young men who hope to make a success of their chosen profession cannot afford to neglect any preparation which will the better fit them for an honorable and useful career.

PENETRATING THE DARKNESS

When one thinks how little thousands of people in other countries know of what is going on, owing to the lack of newspapers, it is becoming more and more apparent that the newspaper is the light that is penetrating the darkness of superstition and ignorance and, next to

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the Bible, is proving the greatest factor in promoting the happiness and general welfare of the people.

Schools of journalism will train the graduates of our higher educational institutions to stand shoulder to shoulder with those who climb from the very bottom and the ethical side of journalism as differentiated from its purely news-gathering phases will have increasing consideration. But in this gradual lifting of the newspaper to a higher level of efficiency and responsibility, there must be a careful balancing of the ethical features and the practical workaday news requirements to the end that the finished product may not fall short of the reasonable expectation of a clientele that represents every walk of life and is as discriminating as it is exacting.

As country editor, reporter, general correspondent, editor-in-chief and publisher, I have known many brilliant and successful newspaper workers, and it is my sincere belief that in no other profession is it possible to find a larger proportion of able, conscientious, loyal, industrious and enthusiastic men. Newspaper men are bound together by closer and more enduring bonds of sympathy and affection and common interest than any other workers. In prosperity or adversity they cling to each other, and the camaraderie of the craft is an example of good fellowship worthy of emulation. Friendship in the newspaper fraternity has an enduring quality.

THE NEWSPAPER A PROBLEM-SOLVER

More, their sense of responsibility to their fellows is great. Having worked with the workers and touched elbows with publishers and writers in town and city, the conclusion is irresistible that upon the newspaper depends in large measure the solving of the titanic problems which confront this nation. My faith in the high purpose, the patriotism, the justice and the morality of those who are making the newspapers of our country is deep-rooted, and in any testing period to come there will be no surrender of principle, no faltering, no false teaching, no fleeing

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from the post of duty, however trying the obligation or tremendous the responsibility.

No other function of the newspaper is more important than its support of proper community effort. Only in this way can the morale of the people anywhere be developed and maintained. Any investigation of the newspapers of Pennsylvania or any other State will demonstrate that they have contributed to the upbuilding of the Commonwealth more largely than the casual reader can appreciate or understand. If a newspaper does not serve its community, the State and the nation, it is of no use as a newspaper. In the publication of news it is fulfilling an important function, of course, but it must go farther and support in every reasonable way the movements which make for a more prosperous and happy community.

Always I have urged the young men of our staff to study well the field in which they work. Mere rasping comment or sharp criticism cannot be justified in the conduct of any newspaper. If criticism is called for in the promotion of any good cause, then it must be administered with the big stick and not in any pussyfooting way. As I have frequently indicated, the newspaper should be a constructive leader, but at no time a dictator. When the people are fully aroused in support of any cause for the public welfare they will do all that is necessary to achieve the goal set for them.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMAND FOR INTELLIGENT DIRECTION

One of the drawbacks in many communities, where newspapers are striving for the betterment of the people, is the too common disposition of political leaders to withhold support from public enterprises which are for the benefit of all. These political bosses—foolishly assuming that when they decline to favor, for instance, an expenditure for a public undertaking which is recognized generally as necessary, because to do so would invite reaction against their so-called leadership owing to additional taxation—overlook the inevitable consequences of such a

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near-sighted course. In all my experience I do not recall a single instance where a public building or other facility provided after full discussion of the matter has ever impaired the leadership of any man. Indeed, quite the opposite is true; the people demand intelligent direction, and the political leader who holds back in a selfish way for fear he may be criticised where a matter of general public interest is at stake, involving expenditure of public funds, will shortly find that he is not leading, but is far in the rear of the procession. Newspapers are taking their proper position in such emergencies, and while the political boss may obstruct for a time a necessary public improvement, his attitude is certain to be repudiated as soon as the people realize what is back of his opposition.

WORKING FOR THE COMMUNITY

The average citizen in the average community wants everything done which will promote the general welfare, and he is ready to back with all his energy and interest any program that is advocated for the general good. For instance, the adornment of a city is now regarded as a proper effort on the part of municipal officials. This also applies to the larger and also smaller municipal units. In Pennsylvania, the construction of a wonderful system of public highways costing many millions has revolutionized old-time ideas that any increased cost must just naturally be opposed. Homes and barns and planting and all that goes to make up the environment of the countryside have shown the effect of the persistent and strenuous and intelligent advocacy of newspapers on the job.

My own city of Harrisburg is an illustration of this theory. As citizens of the Capital of the State, all Harrisburgers rejoice in doing everything that will provide an environment for Capitol Hill and public buildings commensurate with the dignity of an imperial Commonwealth. Because of this attitude on their part the State authorities and other officials of Pennsylvania are

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adopting the Harrisburg plan of cooperative and coordinated effort. This city has in its civic organizations many associations which find themselves cooperating with the Chamber of Commerce and the municipal officials at every point. Twenty-five years ago Harrisburg was a moribund, self-satisfied and more or less self-centered community, but today it is regarded far and wide as one of the most progressive municipalities of the country. This is all because the people, old and young, rich and poor, have combined to bring about changes which have been methodical and intelligent and satisfactory in every way.

A newspaper must consider first of all what will benefit the people without regard to the immediate financial return. With this conception as a fixed conviction it has been my endeavor to give whole-hearted support to all community enterprises.

THE NEWSPAPER THE SERVANT OF THE COMMUNITY

In the development of the modern newspaper industry there has come gradual appreciation of the important fact that the newspaper is in every fundamental sense the servant of the community. Unless it functions as such it must fail in the achievement of any real success. Newspapers must not only lead in the worthwhile activities of their territory; they must suggest and instruct and entertain. But they must do more. They must assume the responsibilities of leadership and guidance in all matters affecting the welfare of the public.

When I took the helm of the *Dispatch* at Orbisonia I had not yet reached my majority, but at once I became interested in every feature of the town's development. Many things to my mind demanded earnest attention and improvement. These not only affected the peace and order of the community, but likewise its material transformation. Orbisonia was in need of a town hall and a "lock-up" and other things. At once I put the newspaper back of a definite program of public betterment, and to this day I have satisfaction in looking back at



HALL OF THE AMERICAS, PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.
Where the Congress of Pan-American Journalists Met in May, 1926

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the accomplishment of practically everything undertaken at that time, even to the organization of a military band or two.

When I became head of the Harrisburg *Telegraph*, there was at once outlined for the community's consideration a program of public improvements. These improvements were calculated to cover a considerable period of years, and much has since been accomplished.

A GOOD WILL CONGRESS

As a delegate from Pennsylvania to the first Pan-American Congress of Journalists which met in the spring of 1926 in Washington, D. C., I learned anew many things as to the newspaper man's responsibility. I was deeply impressed with the earnestness and high ideals of that section of the congress represented by the delegates from Central and South America. It would be difficult to visualize a body of men more thoroughly imbued with the importance of their public service than these publishers and writers identified with the great journals of Brazil, the Argentine, Peru, Panama, Mexico, and other Latin peoples. While the questions discussed were all of an interesting and practical character, what was most evident through the sessions was the apparent desire of these visiting journalists to cement and promote in every way the good relations between the newspaper men of the United States and their southern colleagues.

While the difficulties of different languages interfered somewhat with an immediate understanding of the views expressed, interpretation of the high ideals of the Latin-American journalists was prompt and without any actual loss of the real meaning of the speakers.

President Coolidge's speech was an inspiring appeal for international friendship and good will, to be promoted and safeguarded by a better understanding though the newspaper fraternity. He was particularly happy in the suggestion that "we ought to realize that other nations have their rights and are justified in promoting

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their interests by all fair means," pointing out that we cannot cultivate the arts of peace by entertaining emotions of suspicion, distrust and hatred. We cannot be a great people, he declared, by harboring such unworthy sentiments, and we ought to be ready to attribute the same good faith and fair motives to other governments and other peoples which we claim for ourselves.

The President further indicated that no basis for harmony, tranquility, honorable dealing and peace has ever been better expressed than in the Golden Rule. Without a friendly attitude of mind on the part of our people, which can be very largely advanced by the action of the press, all effort on the part of the government to maintain harmonious international relations will be of little avail, he continued.

President Coolidge has made many impressive and convincing speeches, but none ever struck home with more force and with a more far-reaching effect than this heart-to-heart talk with the newspaper men of the United States and its neighbor republics on the South.

COOLIDGE LAYS A CORNERSTONE

Two speeches on the same day gave the President wide latitude for expression of his views with respect to the potentiality of the press. In the morning he talked freely and with dignity to the Pan-American Congress; the afternoon of the same day he made a fine address at the laying of the corner-stone of the National Press Club. In the first instance he cited the functions of a friendly press and the benefits of untrammelled publication; at the corner-stone ceremony he expressed the hope that periodical meetings such as was then being held in the Pan-American building, possibly alternating between Latin America and the United States, would have far-reaching consequences, not only in the preservation of the most cordial good feeling existing between the representative nations, but also in the drawing together of our people into closer bonds of sympathetic understanding. "It should result," he pointed out, "in a better compre-

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hension that, after all, we of the Western Hemisphere are one people striving for a common purpose, animated by common ideals and bound together in a common destiny. Unto us has been bequeathed the precious heritage and the high obligation of developing and consecrating a new world to the great cause of humanity.”

So the laying of the corner-stone at Washington of a great newspaper home may be regarded as a significant step forward in the building of higher ethical standards among journalists and establishing the newspaper industry as a tower of strength for the government and the people.

I like also to recall a striking sentence or two from the President’s epic address in the presence of the thousands who watched him lay the corner-stone. “Our country is a reverent country,” he said, “and our people are a reverent people. Our institutions must rest on that foundation. The present must minister to that spirit and the great work must go on like all great works in reliance upon a divine purpose. If the corner-stone which we are laying today is to endure, it must rest upon these principles. ‘Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it.’”

PROMOTING BETTER UNDERSTANDING

As a newspaper man, I felt a conscious sense of pride in President Coolidge’s fair appraisal of the value of journalistic effort and realized the justice of his comment that “in financial resources, in absolute independence, in the reaction of an enlightened public to right and truth and justice the position which they [the newspapers] occupy in this country stands unrivaled in all history. To create a better understanding we are almost entirely dependent on our editors and publishers; the good they can do in promoting better understanding by supporting faith and good will and peace cannot be estimated.”

Always I have maintained that the average newspaper publisher and editor desires earnestly and sincerely to

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promote the public welfare. We may not all think alike, but, with few exceptions, the newspapers of the United States are honestly striving to do that which is best for their communities, the State and the Republic. It is my judgment that out of the Pan-American Congress of Journalists will come such a stream of good will as must refresh all sections and peoples. Always this conference of journalists of North America and South America will serve as a great international signpost pointing the way to amity and a better understanding between the Americans of the North and those of the South. Coming as an open door of good will at the very hour the European attitude toward us is almost hostile, the consequences are likely to be more far-reaching than any step of recent years looking toward a better relationship between two continents with mutual interests so increasingly important as to call forth the best statesmanship on both sides of the equator, in every country in North America, Central America and South America.

THE NEWSPAPER AND THE ALIEN

In the service of the community pulpit and press should work together in providing the people an unselfish natural development of more exalted standards of living without the poor pretense of a superior level of society. Much headway has already been made in the right direction. In the naturalization courts and through practical cooperation of patriotic societies there is coming rapidly such an appreciation of the problems of the alien groups as will solve for all time what was becoming a menace through unrestricted immigration. Also, in passing it should be said by way of recognition of outstanding public service that no single member of the United States Senate has contributed more to his day and generation than David A. Reed, of Pennsylvania, through an immigration law that has so materially lessened the increasing menace of an undigested alien mass. He is here and there accused of intemperate language in his public statements, but Major Reed was

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a good artilleryman in France and is not a pussyfooter even to please the dodos who only deceive themselves in trying to deceive their constituents.

In such great work as this the newspaper man plays an ever increasing part. We need help in Americanizing the alien elements of our population. Those who have come to us from other lands are hearing constantly of law enforcement and our free institutions without understanding clearly what it is all about. They are urged by societies and individuals to become proud citizens of the Republic and then are made to feel in all sections of the country the aloofness of those calling themselves Americans and at the same time treating the foreign-born groups as outside the pale of our national life. I have great sympathy for these adopted citizens who cannot understand why swearing to obey the Constitution and laws and giving fealty to the Stars and Stripes should not also entitle them to full entrance into America and all the rights and privileges that belong to citizens of our land.

NOT BOOKS, BUT THE NEWSPAPERS

There is before me a statement which is interesting because of its source. Mayor "Jimmy" Walker, of New York City, addressing a hundred American editors and publishers on their way to attend the third World Press Congress at Geneva, Switzerland, said:

"It was through the medium of the press that my immigrant father and others were attracted to this country. It was not books, but accounts of the land of liberty and opportunity in the daily newspapers that attracted our forefathers."

Such testimony from the chief administrative head of the metropolis of the United States, himself the son of an immigrant reared on the East Side of New York, is significant of the responsibility as well as the service of the American newspaper. Edward W. Bok and other boys of foreign birth also found the newspaper an effective training school for many who have no oppor-

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tunity other than their own tireless energy and ardent ambition to get ahead, from the Nation's head in the White House to the lowliest party worker of the obscure precinct.

An aged contractor, an immigrant in young manhood, told me that many of the new citizens are discouraged because they cannot understand why they are not welcomed into the American fold. These have been made to feel that they are in, but not of the United States. So the newspaper has some important work in this direction. Many are already cooperating with patriotic and civic organizations and are accomplishing much in the direction of better relations between the native-born and immigrants already in our midst. Through the schools and newspapers the process of assimilation can be successfully carried on.

A LESSON FROM EUROPE

Then through the newspapers of the United States there is established such contact between the nation's official life and the citizen as is necessary for the intelligent development of a patriotic support of the government from the highest division at the national Capital to the most humble station.

My judgment as to the value of the newspaper in the United States is confirmed by a recent conversation with an intelligent and self-respecting young Austrian who gladly came to this land of opportunity—"the land of joy," as the French statesman, Herriot, has described it. Asked how much interest was manifested in the United States by his home people overseas, he said, "Not much, because about all they learn is the geography of this country, and only a few newspapers are to be found." These were passed from one to another he said, but little was published concerning the Western world. After coming to our shores his countrymen found how much they had missed in the occasional newspaper at home. Other adopted Americans have told me practically the same thing. They feel that their outlook is affected by

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lack of sufficient knowledge of the government of the United States.

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM BEARS FRUIT

Another service is notable. Newspapers are doing their best to overcome the constant effort to increase governmental agencies and there is now apparent, at Washington and elsewhere, a real trend of public opinion and sentiment in favor of cutting out and reducing unnecessary officials who batten on the public. This atmosphere is also beginning to pervade municipalities, and it is conceivable within a few years that there will be a material reduction in the cost of government and a more intelligent administration of the people's business. Too much legislation, too much regulation, too much interference with the obvious business of communities by the higher State or national authorities is crimping and cramping the initiative of the American citizen. Also in the United States the official is too often harassed and his usefulness impaired by ill-considered censure. General and thoughtless criticism of those in official position serves no good purpose so long as it is merely censorious and not constructive.

THE NEWSPAPER AND PROGRESS

There has been issued recently a booklet which speaks of the newspaper and the progress of the community which it serves. This constructive study of the relation of the newspaper to the community in all its best aspects emphasizes the newspaper power behind progress. Particular attention is drawn to the fact that three out of four of the readers of newspapers have no other form of current literature. In America, at least, the newspaper is recognized as the one common source upon which the entire population depends for its timely information.

Reference was made in the booklet to the sudden paralysis which fell upon the metropolis of the country in the fall of 1923. In a few days this cost millions of dollars. For the first time in two centuries New York

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found itself without its usual newspapers as the result of a press-room strike that halted their publication. Not until the people realized that they were not receiving their newspapers did they awaken to the seriousness of the situation. Store sales sagged abruptly, finance was thrown back upon "the thin stream of information that came trickling through the tape," and world-wide news suddenly disappeared so far as the New York public was concerned. This incident, which might have been most grave in its consequences, was rendered less serious by a prompt settlement of the controversy. But it showed beyond any question the close relationship between the newspaper and its community.

It has been so from the earliest days and is becoming increasingly more apparent that American progress is reflected in the columns of the newspapers and that only through these direct contacts is it possible to bring about coordination of the active elements of every community. The newspaper mobilizes the best citizens of town or city into a force for progress. Without the newspaper many energetic and loyal citizens functioning through civic associations would utterly fail to accomplish what is being achieved throughout the country. Public interest in any topic, truthfully comments the Manhattan booklet, finds quick response from both editor and advertiser.

BUDAPEST'S STRANGE NEWSPAPER

Some years ago in Budapest I met several bright and interesting newspaper men identified with the important papers of that city. These were quite curious as to the methods of our American newspapers, but certainly not more so than some of us concerning the policies and processes of the Hungarian journals.

My recollection is that the city had not less than sixteen newspapers, but one of these never went to press. It was, however, complete as to organization in all departments and the staff was trained in the most efficient manner. I was told of the novel system of gathering and assembling the news, the covering of the markets, in-

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cluding the American quotations on corn and other products in which Hungary is interested, the doings of society, official and governmental transactions and general happenings. Reporters had regular assignments and special correspondents were sent on extra duties. But this newspaper, a regular daily publication, never went to press. For this was a telephone newspaper; it had subscribers and contributors and a full staff, but no mechanical equipment. "Yes," the editor said, in reply to a question, "we have editors and a business organization, but our subscribers never see their favorite newspaper. Each has a schedule at his telephone desk which specifies the hour he may place the receiver to his ear and get the news. If he is not interested in politics or the markets or sports or society, he will wait until the hour set for local or government or other intelligence. No, he cannot break in with a question. He must simply listen in, and there is no obligation to take down the receiver to hear the news; it is all a matter of the subscriber's choice. If he doesn't care to listen, he simply does as the reader of an ordinary newspaper—he forgets it, the only difference being that he cannot go back to the hour that is past; he must listen when certain news is scheduled or not get it, unless he depends upon another subscriber to supply the latest chronicles of the day."

HOW THE TELEPHONE NEWSPAPER SERVES ITS PUBLIC

Later I learned through a prominent Bell telephone official that the novel undertaking comprises at its central office two departments—a regular editorial office, which receives the telegraphic and oral messages and works them up into leaders or paragraphs; and a special telephonic publishing department, where experienced speakers, each possessing a soft but distinct voice, transmit through the instruments the contents of the manuscripts delivered from hour to hour by the first department. Two languages are used, German and Hungarian. The subscribers who receive the news have a square wooden tablet before them, from which are suspended two tubes

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long enough to reach their ears when they are sitting in an easy chair or at a writing desk, or even when lying in bed. The service commences at eight o'clock in the morning and lasts until nine in the evening.

The Budapest telephone newspaper is a private enterprise, independent of the State telephone system. Special wires are run all over town to connect the receivers of subscribers to the telephone newspaper with the transmitting devices. Receivers are often distributed through hotel lobbies and used extensively by the guests. For receiving, ordinary watch telephones are used, a pair being supplied to each subscriber.

It is not likely that Americans would be satisfied with such a channel of information regarding the doings of the day, nor will the movie screen or the radio take the place of the printed page. Americans are a reading people; some scan the page hastily in their offices or on the trains, but where the paper is closely read and discussed particularly is in the home at eventide. It brings to the family circle, as no telephone substitute or radio broadcaster could, the varied records of the wide world for comparison or advice and discussion of the daily happenings.

THE NEWSPAPER AND THE PRESS ASSOCIATION

In giving the happenings of the world demanded by the newspapers' constituency in America great press associations give invaluable service. The greatest of these, for many years, were the Associated Press and the United Press. For several years before 1897 these two associations had a spirited contest for supremacy. About the first of April, 1897, notice was sent out that the Associated Press had been victorious and that the United Press would suspend service on the night of April 6. As a result many publishers who were members of the United Press were compelled to look elsewhere, and a majority of them succeeded in procuring the service of the Associated Press. For one cause or another, however, there were quite a few who could not procure the

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Associated Press service. This fact resulted in the formation of the Publishers' Press Association. An organization was completed promptly and this new service was launched on April 7, 1897. J. B. Shale, the president, told me that many complimentary telegrams were received relative to the quality and quantity of the service furnished on the first day. It was a rather extraordinary success. While only a few more than a score of papers were served at the beginning, it had grown to a clientele of five hundred throughout the United States within ten years and was also selling news in Europe. About July 1, 1906, E. W. Scripps purchased a controlling interest in the Publishers' Press and later changed the name to the United Press, which is the present title of the Association. At different times in the changes of these news organizations I served all three as Harrisburg correspondent, having a large variety of experience in the meantime.

THE EDITOR'S NEWS RESPONSIBILITY

It must not be thought that the gathering of the facts, whether by press associations, or by reports on special assignment, ends the news problem for the editor. The average reader little realizes the consideration and patience bestowed upon news by long-suffering editors. These editors cut out and discard many an item of real live news for reasons entirely creditable to their human sympathy. The seamy side of life concerning which we hear so much of drivel in these latter days is less appealing to the average editor than his critics believe, but in the making of newspapers the doings of the world are chronicled not as the editor would always prefer, but as the facts demand. I have no patience with the censor of morals and decency in newspaperdom who presumes to judge the acts of men and women as a superior being and with utter disregard of those most likely to bear the brunt innocently. Nor have I more patience with the reader of the newspaper who declaims loudly against the perversion of the press when what is printed happens

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to strike near home, while berating the same press when it fails to give publicity to facts which would bring woe into another circle—all on the theory that a newspaper which does not print such a story falls short of its obligation to the public. As the readers of the newspaper come to have a better appreciation of its function the volunteer editors on the outside will be less disposed to harpoon the workers and publishers on the inside.

Bumptious critics with no real appreciation of difficulties too often assume to instruct the makers of newspapers not only as to policies, but also the methods of make-up and incidental features of the daily output.

A telling instance of an editor's refusal to print an item of news occurred some years ago during a run on a bank in a manufacturing town. This run was precipitated by some loose talk that greatly alarmed the foreigners who had deposited their savings in the institution. For a time the excitement was intense and the clamor threatened to cause withdrawals from other banks. At this critical juncture an official of a large industrial concern, who was also an officer of the bank in trouble, phoned the editor requesting a conference on the situation. He presently appeared and asked the editor to read a public statement which he had prepared, explaining at some length the condition of the bank and its solvency. This was read carefully and was then returned to him with an explanation of the editor's reasons for not printing it. "Just so surely as you put that out the situation will grow worse. I have already given instructions to ignore the run on your bank, which will soon cease when these frenzied depositors are reached by those in whom they have confidence. Already, I am advised their priests are quieting the unrest. If any publicity is given at this hour, other banking houses here in Harrisburg may suffer, and the whole structure of confidence be destroyed." The banker called upon the other evening paper and told the publisher what his contemporary had decided to do. Later he phoned that this

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paper also would ignore the run and thanked the editor for his cooperation in a delicate situation.

THE PROBLEM OF THE POSTAL RATES

Any discussion of the service of a newspaper to the community and the nation must naturally tell of its distribution as well as of the collection of news. In 1926 reduced postal rates on second class mail matter were strongly advocated before the United National Association of Postoffice clerks at the annual meeting in Philadelphia. This position was taken on the ground that newspapers transported under this rate "perform invaluable service in the matter of education." Keeping the postal rate low makes available this educational opportunity. The prosperity of the United States is largely attributable to the high standard of education and a heavy responsibility devolves upon the postal service for maintaining these conditions through reasonable charges for newspaper transportation. Increased postal receipts have been shown to follow a lower second-class rate.

But the editor's job is not over when the paper is completed. His service to the community is always due. An instance of much more than local importance, because of its suggestiveness for other towns and cities, occurred when I was president of the Harrisburg Chamber of Commerce, an organization which acts as a clearing house for all community activities—from a reception to distinguished nobility to a lark in the way of a summer cruise along the New England coast or the Great Lakes. Before giving way to my successor it was my chief aim to establish permanently what is now known as the Harrisburg Foundation. The success of a somewhat similar agency in Cleveland had aroused my interest.

A special committee of the Chamber of Commerce was appointed, to look into the possibilities, and present a plan. About this time a similar Foundation in New York City was also being considered and was discussed in the metropolis. Stanley G. Jean, one of my chamber associates, had several conferences with the New York group

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as to the set-up of the proposed Harrisburg agency and it was found that several good points in our plan were so excellent they were at once adopted by the New York committee. Then we took over certain fine provisions of the metropolitan plan.

THE STORY OF THE HARRISBURG FOUNDATION

Thus the framework was built up, after much serious discussion over legal features and the relation of the banking houses and trust companies to the Foundation. Finally we had a new and efficient agency, established on a workable basis for the distribution of philanthropic bequests and legacies for the public welfare.

No one can foretell the possibilities of such an organization. Years may elapse before it functions fully, but it is now known that certain wills contain provisions which contemplate the wise service that may be rendered in distribution of grants of money by the living and bequests of the dead.

The service of the newspaper is not complete when such a Foundation is formed. The people must be guided in the proper attitude toward money and the community. The editor owes it to them to give them such teaching as was contained in a magazine article by Bruce Barton. This was a remarkable bit of philosophy under the interrogative caption, "How Much Money Do You Want?" In this he quoted from many correspondents on the age-old question which continues to interest every generation and all classes. The average American, he said, has no burning desire to be a millionaire; many people who possess only modest incomes are entirely contented and happy.

Barton has put into forceful, true and convincing sentences a phase of life that is giving many parents pause—the social competition of American families, the constant "keeping up with Lizzie," to the utter dethronement of family peace.

Men and women, girls and boys should be trained to set up in their philosophy of life a goal towards which

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they shall constantly move forward in a determination to do something for their day and generation. Through such a Foundation as ours even those of modest means may set apart a grant for some good community purpose, while they are living or after they have gone to their accounting. "Many a mickle makes a muckle," and small estates merged under the Foundation plan will provide a worthy community service, perhaps more enduring as a memorial than bronze or marble.

The late Mayor Robert W. Speer, of Denver, once told me with pride of a skillful mechanic of that city, a blacksmith, I think, who had given several thousand dollars—all he had in the world—for a fine archway in a civic center as a contribution to the artistic values of the city he loved. Think of the possibilities of thousands of small gifts!

FABULOUS NEWSPAPER VALUES

The greatest reward possible for a newspaper man is the knowledge that he has served his community. Material rewards also wait for many. Fine newspaper properties may bring immense profits. But there are not lacking instances of fabulous valuation of newspaper properties. There is the *Kansas City Star*, which sold recently for \$10,000,000. Next in importance was the sale by the executors of the late Frank A. Munsey to one of his lieutenants of the New York *Evening Sun* and *The Telegram* for approximately \$12,000,000. For Victor Lawson's *Chicago News* there was paid \$14,322,068. Munsey is supposed to have spent about \$20,000,000 in acquiring and maintaining his various newspapers. These are colossal figures as compared with the old-time appraisal of newspaper values. Even the less important newspapers are increasing enormously in value, and this value is accentuated by the gradual disappearance of many newspapers throughout the country. With the smaller number of papers, the appraisal of the remaining properties must be naturally augmented. One of the striking features of these changes is the very material

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reduction of the number of newspapers in the larger cities like Chicago, New York and Philadelphia through mergers and consolidations. This same trend is noticeable also in the smaller communities. Mostly these sales and mergers have resulted in old and experienced newspaper men remaining in control.



CHAPTER XVIII

APPOINTMENTS AS A POLITICAL LIABILITY

NEWSPAPER men who have observed the workings of the offices of President and Governor will agree with me that no feature of the public service involves important officials in more embarrassing situations than the appointments which fall to their lot. Simultaneously with the change of an administration at Washington or Harrisburg there is an onrush of worthy Republicans or Democrats, depending upon the successful party at the last election, to secure the recognition to which all partisans believe they are entitled. It is this offensive that invariably gives the appointing power all manner of sleepless nights and worried days, for back of the office-seeker himself is the political boss or a brood of subordinates who hope to profit through the appointment of their particular champion.

THE VICTOR AND THE SPOILS

That these appointments are at the bottom of many serious political controversies can be demonstrated by any investigation of administrative functions in the transition period. I am one of those who believe that, in our system of government, to the victor belongs the spoils. Of course, it doesn't follow that such a suggestion implies

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utter opposition to the Civil Service system. As a matter of fact, however, the merit system has not always worked to the satisfaction of the people. Many camouflaged attempts to invest the Civil Service regulations with the atmosphere of efficiency have proved futile in actual practice. Almost any party in power can find a way of overcoming the Civil Service restrictions. Also, there are many who believe that too strict interpretation of Civil Service rules must lead to loss of interest on the part of the individual voter in the success of his political party.

Senator James Donald Cameron is said to have urged a certain appointment on a popular President who "regretted to advise" him that there was no vacancy. To this statement was made the emphatic reply:

"Vacancy be d—d! I'm not looking for a vacancy. What I want is a position for this man. It's a fine thing to be told there's no vacancy!"

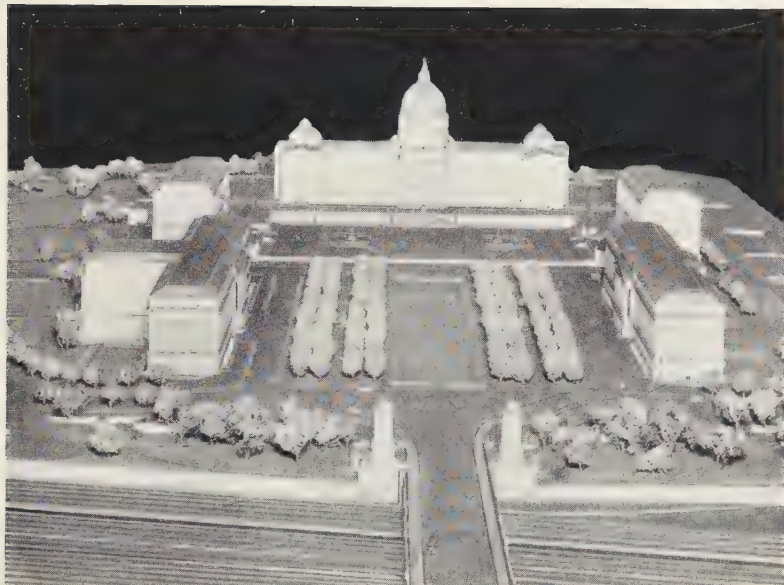
This is a mild version of a true incident, but as all concerned are now dead, further details may be omitted.

Long lists of applicants probably provoked former President Taft's alleged remark that for every appointment a President makes he creates ten enemies. This may not have been the most tactful thing to say, but it about covers the situation.

Pompous and tactless understrappers frequently involve the appointing heads in no end of trouble. Also, there is a fatuous tendency on the part of those fortunate enough to receive appointments in any department of the public service to remember the favor only until the next inviting vacancy suggests a request for promotion. This failing for any reason, the luckless appointing power is likely to be held up to scorn and contempt as one who has no appreciation of the seeker's predominant fitness.

THE PERENNIAL APPLICANT

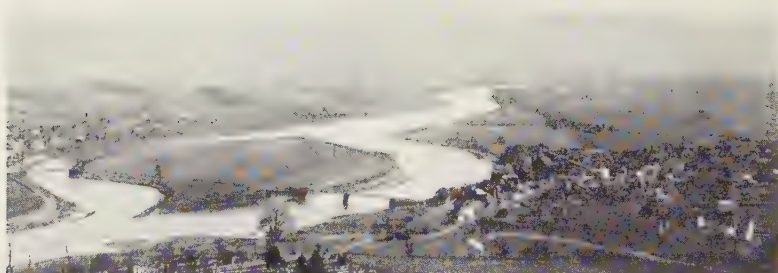
A few years ago a distinguished Congressman told me of a chap whom he had landed in a position at Washington and who bombarded him with constant appeals for promotion to more inviting places. He never heard of



BRUNNER PLAN FOR EAST FRONT OF PENNSYLVANIA'S CAPITOL
Partially Completed



A VIEW FROM THE OLD CAPITOL



ON THE JUNIATA RIVER AT McVEYTOWN



THE AUTHOR'S ALMA MATER, McVEYTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

APPOINTMENTS AS A POLITICAL LIABILITY

a vacancy in any department that he was not promptly at the doors of the Congressman's office urging consideration for himself. On one occasion he was asked whether he ever went home to vote, even to support his political god-father, and brazenly admitted that he had not been home to vote for several years—although the distance between Washington and his election district was less than three hours of travel.

During the administration of Governor William A. Stone the appointment of General Charles Miller as Major General of the National Guard of Pennsylvania over General J. P. S. Gobin, a Civil War veteran, long a popular officer of the Guard, aroused a tremendous furore in political and military circles. Governor Stone phoned me, asking me to come to the Executive Mansion to discuss a matter which he did not care to talk about except in person.

HE FACED THE MUSIC

When I arrived he was sitting on the rear lawn of the official residence and at once got down to the matter in hand. He said substantially:

“Stackpole, I would like your judgment in the matter of an appointment which I must make but which has given me considerable annoyance. I refer to the office of Major General of the National Guard. There are two persons under consideration—General J. P. S. Gobin and General Charles Miller. I understand, of course, that Gobin is the senior Brigadier General, and perhaps is in line for promotion as the senior officer, but General Miller has long been my friend and I have determined to appoint him. What do you think about it?”

“You doubtless want a frank opinion, Governor,” I said, “and I can say in a few words, and not too politely, that you will get hell. As a former member of the National Guard I know that General Gobin is popular with officers and men, that his long service in the Civil War has given him prestige throughout the State among veterans and others; but more than this his service in

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

the Senate and as Lieutenant Governor have placed him in a commanding position among Pennsylvanians. In National Guard circles you will be accused of favoritism at the expense of the best interests of the military arm of the State, and you will also be charged with playing politics where no politics should be played."

"Well," said the Governor, after thinking a moment, "I'm going to appoint Miller anyway. I can better stand criticism for the appointment than to be reckoned as an ingrate. I appreciate all that you have said about the appointment and its consequences and think you are right as to what will happen, but I have had to make some unpopular decisions many times and I have concluded to go ahead with this."

He did, and what I predicted happened. There was a whirlwind of criticism, condemnation and intimations of dire consequences as to Stone's political future. Governor Stone was never a coward, and fear of what might happen in consequence of any action was not manifested at any time.

In my observation of appointments on Capitol Hill, one thing has impressed me more than any other. Political "higher-ups" are responsible for more blunders in the gubernatorial office than any other influence affecting the head of the State administration. Naturally the latter has been the beneficiary of individuals and groups prior to his election, and the spirit of gratitude frequently leads the Governor to decisions entirely inconsistent with his judgment.

TACTLESS APPRECIATION

In the matter of General Charles Miller, who was a Brigadier General, having been appointed head of the entire Second National Guard when the main body of troops was called out for the Spanish-American War, there was a story current at the time that a magnificent riding horse was presented to Governor Stone by General Miller. This episode gave birth to a story of improper influence exerted in securing the appointment of Major

APPOINTMENTS AS A POLITICAL LIABILITY

General. My own judgment is that the incident of the gift of a horse had nothing whatever to do with the appointment; the gift was simply a bit of appreciation—under the circumstances tactless, perhaps—but merely a way of showing the Governor what Miller thought of his favorable consideration in promoting him to the command of the Guard.

Pulling and hauling of every sort goes on during the early part of every State administration. It is a severe strain upon any occupant of the gubernatorial chair. He wants to be kind and considerate and grateful to his friends, but these appear not to realize that they are placing upon him a burden of worry which frequently results in differences that lead to unfair reprisal tactics in the Legislature and elsewhere. Most Governors whom I have known would with entire cheerfulness have turned over all patronage to a hard-boiled party committee. Such an arrangement would have given them opportunity to study the best interests of the Commonwealth, and avoid a lot of trouble.



CHAPTER XIX

AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND THE JAPANESE PRESS

CYRUS E. WOODS was once a Pennsylvania newspaper man for a short time. As the American minister at Lisbon and later the Ambassador of the United States to Spain and Japan he acquired a lot of diplomatic experience which stood him in good stead later when he became the pacificator between warring Republican factions of Pennsylvania in the remarkable primary campaign of 1926.

THE COMING OF THE HARMONIZER

He was strongly urged to restore harmony, if possible, between the antagonistic elements on the Republican side in this now historic contest and in this herculean effort he represented particularly the interests of Secretary of the Treasury Mellon. For years he had had the confidence of the great financier, and to him Mellon naturally turned when the situation became almost intolerable during March, 1926. Woods was then in Florida, where he had been for several months, but, coming North at once, he lost no time in getting into touch with the various factions then striving to rend each other asunder in a political way. It was through him, largely, that a more or less effective working force was organized and the rough-and-tumble features elimi-

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nated. It was no small job, involving hatred, envy, suspicion and every other thing that might, could or would militate against anything like effective harmony in the campaign.

Notwithstanding the intelligent work of the former diplomat, he was unable to save Senator Pepper. On the investigation of primary expenditures by the Reed committee of the United States Senate at the close of the primary campaign, Woods clearly indicated how difficult had been his assignment. Always courageous and ever tactful, he probably realized that, next to a Japanese earthquake, a factional row in Pennsylvania was a close runner-up in spectacular features. When he was called as a witness before the Reed committee he told of his efforts to bring about harmony among the Republicans in working out a "slate." He had been urged to undertake the job by both Senator Pepper and John S. Fisher. Their thought was to coordinate the efforts of all factions in the interests of United States Senator and Governor.

Joseph R. Grundy, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, was one of the persons Woods was anxious to bring around to the support of Senator Pepper; he was already the enthusiastic backer of Mr. Fisher. It was reported that the Grundy-Fisher people doubted the Pepper people and the Pepper people suspected the Grundy-Fisher element of not playing exactly fair, Mr. Woods explained. Throughout the campaign the Ambassador had done his utmost to keep down the constant ructions between these antagonistic groups. While they were supposed to be fighting on the same side, it was an open secret that they suspected each other of political skullduggery.

In his testimony Mr. Woods indicated that even after he had succeeded in bringing together the rival headquarters of the Pepper-Fisher forces, there was still trouble here and there. He explained, further, that it was part of his harmonizing effort to fuse into effective

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relationship the divided strength of Pepper and Fisher; in short, to line up the Pepper men who were for Beidleman in support of Pepper and Fisher as a combination. It was clear to his friends and to the committee that Mr. Woods had undertaken to accomplish a most difficult task, largely because of his personal friendship for Secretary Mellon and Mr. Fisher, an old colleague in the State Senate. But his real job as he conceived it, was a coalition of the rival elements constantly interfering one with the other. Grundy was not disposed to support Senator Pepper, owing to long-standing differences, but Woods demonstrated the desirability of a solid front and Grundy came into line.

Soon after the turn of the century Woods was president of the Senate of Pennsylvania, and in this way he became intimate with many political factors of later years. He had been sent to Portugal as the United States Minister and served as Secretary of the Commonwealth in the administration of Governor Brumbaugh before going to Spain and later to Japan. For years he had been the confidant of many leaders of finance and industry and also the political circles of his native State.

WHEN THE EARTHQUAKE CAME

As a young collegian he did some newspaper work on the side and has always been in sympathy with the press. Having made a fine record at Madrid, it was natural, that he should be sent to Tokyo, where he and his household narrowly escaped death in the great earthquake of 1923. His military aide had for years been a resident of Japan, and when the convulsion occurred he instantly realized what the tremor meant and called to the Ambassador: "That's an earthquake, and a bad one; we must get out of here!" Somewhat surprised, Woods, who had been in Japan only a few weeks, ejaculated: "That's interesting!" and was hustled outside the building already careening. In a minute, he witnessed the collapse of the walls and the falling of the plaster where he had been conversing with his aide.



CYRUS E. WOODS



VICE ADMIRAL W. S. SIMS

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND THE JAPANESE PRESS

Then followed the awful fire that caught and consumed some thousands of people who could not escape. Ambassador and Mrs. Woods and the latter's mother, Mrs. Marchand, barely got away. They would have fallen victims to the flames had not Japanese friends thrown over them heavy blankets, which were scorched as they made their way to a zone of safety, and later to a palace placed at their disposal by a dignitary of the Mikado's kingdom. For several nights the Ambassador and his family slept on lawns under the sky.

Japan greatly appreciated his services at the time of the earthquake, but the unfortunate breach of friendly relations through the unexpected passage of the Japanese exclusion act by Congress created a serious situation for all Americans. One delegation after another called to see the American Ambassador, but he admonished the protesting groups that they would only confirm the opinions of their enemies in the United States if they carried out their plans for reprisal.

Fortunately for this country, our Ambassador was solid with the Japanese press. When he arrived in the country, he was met at his steamer before landing by an American representative who urged him, under no circumstances, to meet the Japanese newspaper men who were gathered on the dock awaiting his coming. "You must not talk to those Japanese newspaper fellows," said his adviser, "for they will misrepresent you and put into your mouth words which you never uttered."

WINNING THE NEWSPAPER MEN OF JAPAN

Woods was not disposed to heed this advice, and told his excited friend that he saw no reason why he should not meet and talk with the Japanese writers. When he reached the dock he was immediately surrounded by the press representatives, who were all set for a statement from the diplomat from the United States. This is what he said:

"I have been told that it is not customary for diplomatic representatives to talk with you gentlemen of the

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Japanese press, but I don't feel that way about it. Our President at Washington meets the newspaper men regularly, and discusses with them matters of public interest and the policies of the government. All I ask is that you treat me as one who is disposed to be your friend, and who simply asks a square deal in the news."

Immediately the Japanese were full of enthusiasm and fairly hugged each other over the unusual attitude of the new Ambassador. As a result he was given great consideration by the newspapers of Japan. Through the friendly attitude of the newspaper men he was able to get to the minds of the Japanese people what was transpiring in the United States, and to disabuse them of the idea that Uncle Sam was their enemy. When he finally retired from his post and was about to leave for home, he was waited upon by a committee of the newspaper organization. These men begged him to be their guest at a little dinner which they wanted to give in his honor. They explained that the earthquake had impoverished many of them, and that they would not be able to spread such a banquet as he had been accustomed to attending as the guest of the royal family and other important personages, but they desired to show him how much they appreciated his treatment of them during his official stay in the country. He told me that he had never had a more touching expression of unadulterated friendship than was manifested at this dinner. These men were at the steamer to bid him farewell, and betrayed in all their conduct during his sojourn in Japan the keenest interest in what he was doing to improve the relations between the two countries.

On the day he left for home with his family, many thousands of people crowded the streets and made his trip to the boat a triumphal procession. Again he was called upon to make a speech and did so to the great pleasure of all who heard him, leaving the shores of Japan with the cheers of thousands ringing in his ears.

It has been told by others who had a knowledge of the

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND THE JAPANESE PRESS

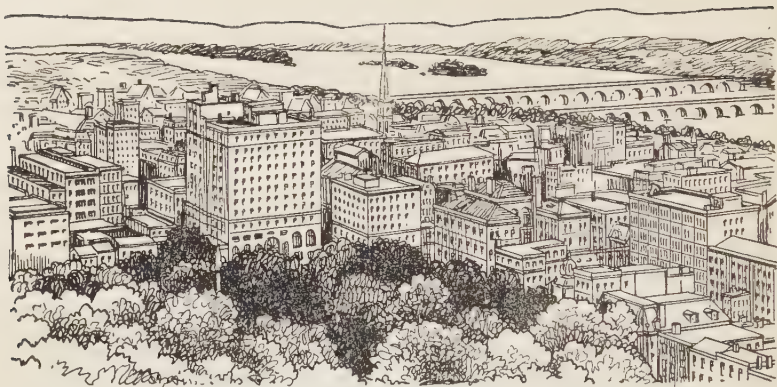
Japanese feeling toward Mr. Woods that he was one of the most popular diplomats ever assigned to the Mikado's kingdom. He was made to feel on many occasions that he was *persona grata* to all classes. Delegations of students and labor organizations vied with each other in showing him honor. What shocked and embittered the Japanese was what they believed to be a violation of a gentleman's agreement regarding exclusion. So it is not surprising that on his return to the home station he should have been summoned as a pacificator by the in-harmonious Republicans of Pennsylvania.

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE COMMENDS A DIPLOMAT

Recently, at my request, the former Ambassador sent me for use in this volume a letter of appreciation which he had received after his resignation from President Coolidge. In part this read:

"I wish to take this occasion to express to you my deep appreciation of the valued service which you have rendered in a time of marked difficulty. Your conduct through the period following the earthquake greatly enhanced the standing of our country in the estimation of the Japanese people. Your assistance and wise counsel prevented a serious public misunderstanding at the time of the passage of the present immigration law. Your own friendly personal relations with the Japanese government and people, marked as they were by unprecedented demonstrations of popular approval, have added to the friendly feeling which always ought to exist between our country and Japan."

In the partisan criticism of the Woods appointment as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission toward the end of 1926 it was attempted in the United States Senate to use his harmonizing activities in the exciting Pennsylvania primary as a fulcrum for the opposition to his confirmation.



CHAPTER XX

MILITARY TRAINING TO INSURE PEACE

SINCE the World War there has been a good deal of controversy in newspapers and outside their field regarding military training in the United States. There are those who are opposed strenuously to anything smacking of the military in the scholastic activities of the youth of America. President Coolidge was, not long ago, misrepresented in a statement from Washington on this question. But as the "White House Spokesman" he quickly gave voice to his real views on the subject. He is a believer in such training, provided it is pursued with reason and guards against creation of a military spirit. The attitude of the President toward the Citizens' Training Camps is best exemplified by the fact that he sent his own son to one of these camps for two successive years.

THE FEARS OF THE PACIFISTS

Of course, there is opposition to the training of our youth for the national defense, just as there was objection to the patriotic men of the United States preparing for war as the Prussian invasion loomed ahead. In that crisis the newspapers of the United States gave freely and with real patriotism in support of preparations for

MILITARY TRAINING TO INSURE PEACE

the national defense. Theodore Roosevelt and others like him did their utmost to arouse our millions to the peril which confronted the Republic and who were listening to the plea that "we must be neutral even in thought," when already the chasm yawned beneath us. We are now urged by the same element to eliminate military training for fear of making our sons bloodthirsty warriors.

When we prepare for war these pacifistic groups declare we invite war; we implant the seeds of trouble; we fit our boys to fight; we develop a human war machine. That is what we are told now, just as we were weepingly admonished against preparedness in the tragic months which preceded our entry into the World War, even when the tide of the angry conflict was sweeping toward the shores of America higher and still higher. Thousands of our bravest are now sleeping under the poppies in France who should be filling honorable and useful stations in peace but for the propaganda against reasonable preparedness.

Military training means nothing more than readiness for the national defense. God grant that our splendid youth may be spared such a war as came at last in 1917! But as a peaceful nation we should always be prepared to defend our great heritage.

So far as my own newspaper has offered opportunity, I have done my utmost to promote the cause of military training as a substantial agency in advancement of universal peace.

Training for the national defense, as the author sees it, is as much a patriotic duty as general education of the youth. It is as necessary to fit our young men that they may rally to the colors in any real emergency and for the defense of the Republic, as it is essential to train them to fight disease, to develop our stupendous natural resources, to protect our commercial and industrial interests as these may be threatened even in times of peace, and to develop all that makes for our comfort and happiness as a people.

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

During the World War period I learned to know many interesting public men, including former President William H. Taft and George W. Perkins, both of whose sons were under special artillery training at Saumur with one of my boys. Mr. Taft always impressed me as one of the typical Americans who love their fellow men and who give freely of their great ability to the service of their country. No man ever withstood the blow of a terrific defeat with more courage than this physical and mental giant. He grew in the favor of the people after his defeat more than he could possibly have done through a second term in the White House. Political friends and opponents regard him with real affection, and to this day he is frequently referred to in public and private speeches as the one American, perhaps, who manifested in his own attitude the recognition of the principle of the rule of the people.

It was a great gratification to thousands of his countrymen when he was elevated to the post of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the high place which he has always honored by a dignity, ability and patriotism not surpassed by any other man in the public life of the country. It was always a pleasure for me on the occasions when we met to observe the whole-heartedness and bubbling good nature of the former President. There was nothing of bitterness in his make-up, nor was he censorious even in the slightest degree.

TWO BELIEVE IN PREPAREDNESS

No review of a newspaper career during the last fifty years in Pennsylvania would be complete without reference to two inseparable companions. I speak of them here because one of them was in no sense a pacifist, though he was a true worker in the interests of peace. While the other, as an educator, knew how to teach the true patriotism which calls for preparedness. One of these men was Henry Houck, for years head of the Department of Public Instruction, and one of the most beloved of Pennsylvanians. He and General Thomas



WAR WORK CAMPAIGNERS OF 1918
Barred from the Capitol by Influenza Epidemic



UNCLE HENRY HOUCK
On a Camel at Jerusalem



GENERAL THOMAS J. STEWART

MILITARY TRAINING TO INSURE PEACE

J. Stewart, the State's secretary of war with the official title of Adjutant General, were life-long friends and frequently appeared as speakers on Masonic and other occasions. Both were wonderful story-tellers, and what one didn't recall in their dual appearances the other was certain to bring to the surface. To Houck much that is substantial in our system of public education is due, and to Stewart Pennsylvania owes grateful recognition for the military training of the citizen defensive force. They are with each other, I have no doubt, in the land of the leal.

WHY I REVISED MY ATTITUDE TOWARD ROOSEVELT

In this connection I am compelled to make a public confession of my own attitude toward Theodore Roosevelt. In the 1912 embroglio I attended the Chicago Convention as a newspaper man and watched with ever-increasing interest the changing scenes of that memorable round-up of Republicans. As I watched George W. Perkins, who sat near me, flitting in and out of the hall, reporting to Colonel Roosevelt every phase of the battle inside the Coliseum, and witnessed the high tension of delegates and spectators throughout that memorable controversy, I felt that the country was once more testing to the limit our theory of government by the people and for the people.

I found myself admiring the splendid poise and wonderful self-control during those hectic first days of Elihu Root, the chairman. My sense of justice and fair play led me to the conclusion that Mr. Taft was entitled to the usual recognition of his fine service in a second term, so I found myself becoming more or less resentful of the hurly-burly of the divided partisanship in that great auditorium. Over and over again resounds in my ears to this day, "We Want Teddy!"

Now as to the personal confession. When the immediate bitterness of that epochal clashing of ambitions and factionalism had passed away and I got to thinking it all over, I recalled my former strong admiration for the

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

“Happy Warrior” of Oyster Bay and gradually came to realize that perhaps he was not altogether to blame; that there might have been extenuating circumstances of which I had no knowledge, that he may have been hectorred into an attitude of hostility to his old friend, the President, in a manner which the public did not realize.

Then came the Wilson regime, and with that I could have no sympathy. It was so different and so far short of what the people seemed to demand that it was not long until, like many other Americans, I felt a rebound of affection and loyalty for Colonel Roosevelt. Thus matters drifted until the end of the first Wilson administration, and again I was in Chicago for the 1916 convention.

It was a different spectacle from that which had drawn the attention of the world four years before when the Republican party split on the Roosevelt-Taft issue and the Democrats were permitted to walk between the Republican lines into the White House with Wilson. In the 1916 convention it was generally believed that Colonel Roosevelt would not further demoralize the party, and, while there was a feeling among the crowds that he might not decline a nomination, there was also the impression that he would refuse to participate in any factional demonstration against the nominee. Thus it came about that Justice Charles Evans Hughes was given the standard of the party as the candidate for President.

ROOSEVELT AND THE GREAT WAR

But there still persisted a fringe of the Progressive movement of 1912, and it was this element which accomplished the defeat of Mr. Hughes. His campaign, I have always thought, was not well managed—either in California, or elsewhere in the country.

As the war clouds became more and more dense and rolled nearer and nearer our shores, the patriot Roosevelt was the outstanding symbol of preparedness to his countrymen. He became a living fire, and against the futile appeals for neutrality in thought and action from

MILITARY TRAINING TO INSURE PEACE

the White House went forth the stentorian call of Roosevelt to play the game as it always had been played in America.

To this day I believe that his appeals had more to do with our final entry into the war than anything else that occurred in that critical time. He voiced the feeling of the patriotic citizens of every community, and had not death removed him, I would have been more than delighted as a delegate to the convention in 1920 in Chicago to cast my vote for Roosevelt. He was the choice of practically the entire body of delegates, and the remark was made frequently in my hearing that America had lost an opportunity through his death to place its seal of approval in a national election upon the patriotic and courageous hero of San Juan Hill who had gone out bravely, smilingly on the long, long trail.

When the former President was urging his countrymen to do their duty overseas and at a time when there was agony in the hearts of many over the apparent indifference at Washington to what was going on in Europe, I was on the verge of calling on Colonel Roosevelt and telling him as man to man how I regretted a situation which had seemed to cause even a brief break in my admiration for his tremendous service for his country. I wanted him to know how at least one of his admirers appreciated the fine spirit of his appeal for preparedness. However, the impulse was never carried out, his death occurring before I had opportunity to express to him in person what one of many of his countrymen felt about the way he held aloft the torch of patriotic service in that trying time.

Furthermore, having met both William H. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, I may note here with entire honesty the impression which controlled my thought during the final months of Colonel Roosevelt's life and my personal chats with Mr. Taft in Harrisburg and Washington. Both men of unusual mental equipment, different as day and night, perhaps, in temperament and certain character-

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A NEWSPAPER MAN

istics, they were alike in their desire to serve the people and to sustain in the highest office of the government the best traditions of the Republic. It was a fine thing that whatever temporary cloud obscured their friendship for a short time during the 1912 conflict, they were later friends and compatriots of former years.

THE SAD LACK OF AIRPLANES

A side light on the question of preparedness for war as a means of keeping the peace is given by Linton Wells, the newspaper correspondent who was a stowaway with the world fliers over the Orient. Recently he flew around the world with Edward S. Evans, and accomplished a race against time in twenty-eight days, fourteen hours, thirty-six minutes and five seconds—twenty thousand miles in about half the time of Nellie Bly's famous trip some years ago. In this remarkable flight Wells and his companion flew 8,500 miles, including a stretch in Russia never before traveled by an airplane, without a single mishap. His only comment was that twenty-six hours were lost in the last lap in the United States because they had difficulty in securing a plane at Seattle, owing to the lack of preparedness in this country for commercial aviation. Already our government realizes it cannot continue mail-service aviation and will now permit private enterprise to take care of that. It is the opinion of Wells and those who have been making these epochal flights that lack of commercial airplanes is placing the United States in a condition of unpreparedness that recalls the serious situation in the World War.

An encouraging fact about the present attitude of many toward training for the national defense is the large number of former service men, conspicuous in the World War, now serving with the National Guard. An outstanding figure is General Edward Martin, Auditor General of Pennsylvania, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the One Hundred and Tenth Regiment, Twenty-eighth Division, in France and now a Brigadier General. He also served in the Spanish-American War.

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